

PEACE NEWS

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WANTED NOW : A LEAD FROM BRITAIN

The Editor's Point of View

Whose Is The Responsibility?

By Humphrey S. Moore

IT really should not be necessary, in this "year of grace" 1939, to remind people that war is futile and wicked. It may be that, even by the time these words are in print, the occasion for reminding them will, if it has not passed, at any rate not be so pressing. War may already have been averted.

On the other hand, it may be more urgent than ever that those who oppose war as a result of calm and sober judgment of its alleged merits and the excuses made for it should stand firm in the midst of excitement, fear, and hysteria. It may be more necessary than ever for them to try, by what means are left open to them, not so much to convince people of the evil of war (since they know all about that), as to bring them to the state of sanity that will enable them to see that so evil a thing cannot achieve any good.

That task may be nearly as difficult as the task of those who seek to reach a good end by the evil means of war. Richard Cobden once said it was as little use arguing with a nation at war as it would be to argue with a mad dog.

But other ways will still be open—possibly only illegal ways and the way of resolute example.

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MEANWHILE, let us assume that there are still sufficient influential people who had not completely lost their heads.

Let us encourage in them the conviction that peaceful means are still available for the settlement of differences. And let us discourage the idea that war can, in any circumstances, be held in reserve as an alternative.

Ours is not the spectacular part: that is the field of hurrying statesmen. Ours is not the job of finding acceptable formulae, new avenues to explore, hitherto undiscovered stones to turn.

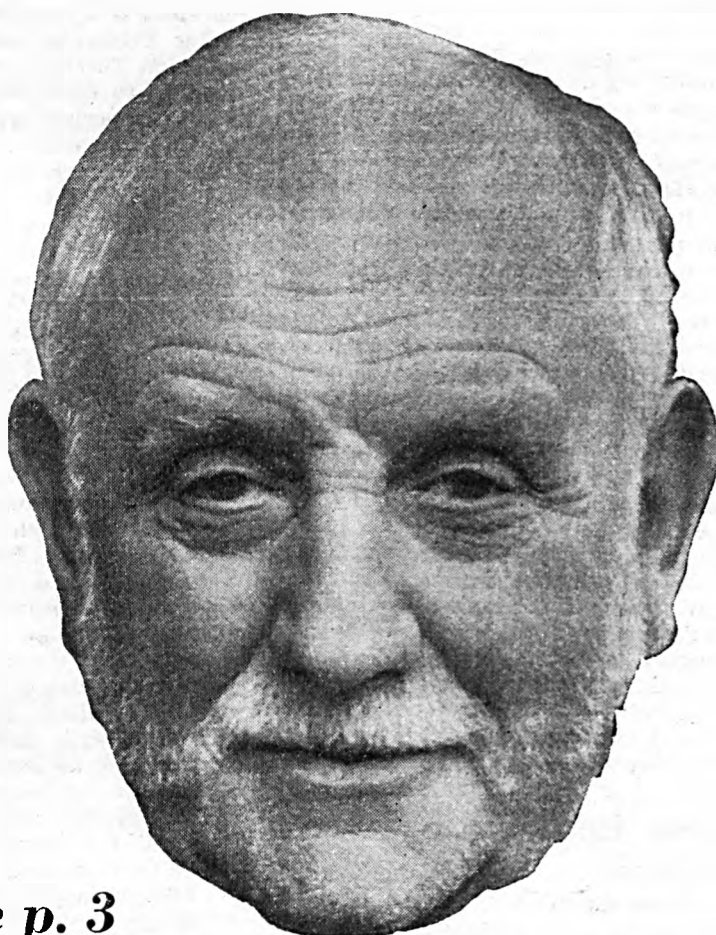
Just at this time we have the important, but rather humdrum, task of reminding people of what they really know but so easily forget—that, whatever happens, war on Germany simply cannot protect Poland;

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"I STILL believe that if one of the Governments, either the United States Government or our own, at the eleventh hour, or nearly the twelfth hour, were to ask for a conference without any conditions . . . our minds would be turned from thinking how we can destroy the world to thinking how we can preserve the world.

"I beg the House to say to the Prime Minister, 'We think you must take the initiative in bringing together these people.'"

—George LANSBURY: See p. 3



D.O.R.A.'s DAUGHTER, E.P.A.

Our Liberties Further Restricted

WHATEVER emerges from this Crisis, war or another breathing space, we shall certainly have a tangible reminder of it for some time—the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act.

We were nominally rid of DORA—she was finally pronounced extinct on September 1st, 1921—though many of her least attractive qualities have been embodied in subsequent Statutes. Now she has risen from the dead, reincarnated in EPA, as the Press, quick to invent a convenient abbreviation, calls the new Act.

The complacency with which our legislators and our Press have seen us saddled with this latest and most inclusive restriction on our hard-won liberties must leave reasonable people appalled.

Commons Scene

The scene in the House of Commons a week last Thursday, when the measure was passed through all its stages was thus described by *The Times*:

In face of an "imminent peril," which the Prime Minister did not attempt to disguise, no serious speaker wasted any time in recrimination about the past or showed the slightest inclination to disagree about the present. A real sense of responsibility smothered every tendency to fireworks . . .

The Times apparently does not regard Mr. Lansbury or Mr. Maxton as "serious" speakers. Readers of *Peace News* will be able to judge for themselves the importance of their contributions, since they are given in this issue.

The Act is all-embracing, except insofar as it gives no power to extend martial law or conscription—and in the case of conscription, provision for its extension has already been made in the Military Training Act!

The Act was described by the *Daily*

Telegraph as "giving the Government such control over national life as is only conceivable in a grave crisis. There will be little complaint from even the most sturdy defender of liberty, for there is the assurance that these extraordinary powers will be used with responsibility . . ."

The *Daily Mail* was more explicit:

Citizens must realize that under the Act the Government may assume almost complete control over their affairs. There are occasions when the liberties of individuals become of less

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"Dora," as Strube, of the *"Daily Express,"* saw her in 1927. They didn't quite succeed in "boarding her up."

Mr. Ll. George on Negotiation

"I DO hope that, whatever happens in the way of arbitration, we are not going to base arbitration upon those explosive treaties in the East of Europe [establishing the Polish-German frontiers] and the acceptance of those annexations [the seizure of certain territories by Poland after the War], which would be fatal."

These words of Mr. Lloyd George, spoken in the House of Commons on March 24, 1925, may well be borne in mind today, "whatever happens in the way of arbitration," or negotiation, or "talks," or a wider conference.

Fourteen years ago Mr. Lloyd George, whose part in the Versailles peace conference entitled him to speak with authority on the subject, described the position of Poland as "the real menace to European peace."

Polish Imperialism

Four years earlier than that, even, the *New Statesman* (May 21, 1921), described "the extravagant imperialism of Poland" as "the most dangerous force now left alive in Europe—dangerous not in itself but in the reactions which it seems certain to provoke."

That comment continued:

"Already Poland is in occupation of vast areas which she has not the slightest prospect of being able to retain . . . The only really doubtful questions are whether those inevitable readjustments can be brought about without war and whether in the event of war, her victorious enemy could be persuaded to halt at the Curzon line which represents very approximately Poland's legitimate claims."

"And if to the apparent certainty of the struggle with a re-created Russia is to be added the absolute certainty of a struggle with Germany over the industrial regions of Upper Silesia, what hope is there either for the peace of Europe or indeed for the very existence of an independent Poland?"

"Could a fifth partition of Poland be prevented?—for assuredly Great Britain will not go to war again in that cause . . ."

Today we are seeing the effects of the now usual disastrous policy of delaying action until the fear of war moves us. Is it too late even now to reach a right solution by peaceful means? Surely not.

ON OTHER PAGES

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A Pacifist Commentary

By "Observer"

"WHATEVER the price we shall pay in effort, blood, tears, freedom, welfare and human honour, there is little probability of the outcome being anything but nonsensical." So wrote H. G. Wells in the *Sunday Chronicle and Referee*. This poignant sentence sums up the very core of present events.

It may be now too late for pacifists to interpret impartially as they would desire the trend of affairs. The sources of accurate information are diminishing every day. Soon it looks as if all the "news" will be imparted, or censored—which is more or less the same thing—by the respective governmental propaganda departments.

France has already imposed a severe censorship, and several papers expressing views contrary to those held by the Daladier régime were confiscated on the day when opinions were so given.

Newspaper correspondents in Germany attached to papers and agencies disseminating reports which that country does not wish to be published have had to leave.

How far this country will go to suppress free discussion here remains to be seen, but the Government has very drastic powers. Therefore, pacifists must judge for themselves, as far as it is relatively possible, what is reliable news and what is inspired propaganda. We must be careful not to be inveigled into anything like mock-heroics, for without being partisans, we know, whatever the cause, war is unjustifiable, whether defended upon moral or social grounds.

We must not forget what may be involved by our individual resistance to the power vested in authority. If the State maintains a war machine and directs its policy on and through power politics, then it is lawfully (which is not the same as morally, be it noted) entitled to coerce its citizens as it will, and those that offend the precepts so imposed must do so at a personal risk.

Press Campaign

THE British press during the last week or so, almost without exception, has taken part in what appears to be a directed campaign of calumny, which is as disgusting an exhibition of misrepresentation as any witnessed in Britain in recent years. Particularly was this evident when the Russo-German Pact was disclosed.

There is no charge, here, against individual journalists, because we appreciate how they, in common with workers in nearly every other industry today, are victims of circumstances and have no other alternative, unless prepared to face, the economic consequences of refusing to do their job.

But the press of this country, it cannot be disputed, is predominately in the hands of vested interests and whatever the political views (or any other, for that matter) the editor may hold, he must on such occasions be "His Masters' Voice."

Here is a typical example of what is meant. *The Times* (23/8/39) leading article on "The Russo-German Deal," said: "In any case it is morally damaging to the Nazi régime—if any moral credit remains to it." Accusations like this, either open or by imputation, are dangerous. What effect can such statements have in, say, Germany and Russia? Even should others indulge in this sort of thing there is no necessity that this country should, if it has the invincible case some would declare she has. Two wrongs have never made a right.

What is wrong with treating all happen-

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Where Pacifists Stand : Drastic Powers for Government : War Plans Revelation : Should Christians Take Part in War?

ings objectively? Unless this is done all news coming from the national press, the wireless, &c., must be closely examined.

The Prime Minister, addressing Parliament on Tuesday, urged the press of this country to exercise the utmost restraint. Mr. Chamberlain said, "At such a time it is quite possible for a few thoughtless words to wreck the whole of the efforts which the Government are making to obtain a satisfactory solution of present difficulties." To this statement I will add nothing, as I am content to allow the correct inference to be drawn when read in conjunction to the foregoing remarks, which were written before the Prime Minister had uttered the warning.

Drastic Powers

THE Houses of Parliament were recalled from the summer recess on Thursday of last week. Chief business was to pass the Emergency Powers (Defence) Bill. This was placed before Parliament and was passed through all the customary stages, as well as receiving the nominal Royal Assent the same day.

Whatever may be pleaded in justification of this expedient, it is very patent indeed how democratic government is reduced to what might be considered a farce if the times were not so grave. The Labour and Liberal parties, officially, gave support to the National Government.

The Commons was forced to divide, and the Bill was approved by a vote of 427 to 4. It would be interesting to know the reasons for the 170/180 abstentions. It is very hard to understand the attitude of so many Labour MPs, whom at one time were proud to boast of being socialists.

The Emergency Powers Act has given the Government what *The Times* (25/8/39) in a leading article describes as "virtually unlimited emergency powers—military and industrial conscriptions and extensions of Courts-martial alone excepted" (I would add: "they may not for long be immune") "to secure the public safety, the defence of the realm, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of any war in which this country may be engaged, and the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community."

Make no mistake, these powers are drastic in the extreme; again, to quote *The Times*, "the present Emergency Powers (Defence) Act is more detailed and even more comprehensive than its forerunner of twenty-five years ago, although the objects are the same."

A Dictatorship

PEACE NEWS has often emphasized how, slowly but surely, this country is being transformed into a totalitarian State before even war is actually declared. Today, the totalitarian State is "virtually" a fait accompli.

Some of our friends, in the past, have thought we were pessimists when writing in that way, yet recent developments seem to prove that the premises previously asserted were along the right lines.

But, whatever comes, I would be so bold as to offer this injunction to all pacifists: remain firm, hard as it may be to do so, in your conviction that truth will finally triumph over might, and that it is our duty to concern ourselves, even should there be a war, with pursuing a policy which will eventually lead towards a permanent peace.

If war should come, which I trust it will not, let us bide our time and, when the

opportunity comes, press for a constructive peace settlement which will avoid all the pitfalls of another Versailles. In such an attitude, alone, I believe, rests the hope of the future.

Creative efforts of this kind will demand our best thoughts and energies; war must never command them. Ours is a great responsibility.

Valuable Lives

THE Prime Minister's speech in the Commons, on Tuesday afternoon, was what a foreigner would probably describe as typically British.

It was magnanimous to some extent, and contained aspirations which would meet with the approval of most pacifists, but these sentiments were nullified by blusterings more characteristic of a bully than an eminent statesman.

Mr. Chamberlain considered that the differences between Germany and Poland were capable of solution by peaceful means. The British Government, he continued, hoped that such a settlement would lead to wider agreement to the benefit of Europe and the world at large. So far so good, although had the National Government genuinely shown the world by example, even in recent years, its willingness in this direction, how much of all the present anxiety would have been averted?

Then the Prime Minister spoke of the "firmness" of the Government to implement all its pledges and assurance to Poland, and in order to leave no doubt about this, he reiterated what is by this

time familiar knowledge, the long list of precautionary measures this country had undertaken. Mr. Chamberlain said our armed forces were ready; our fighting fleet was ready at a moment's notice to take war dispositions; ground anti-aircraft had been manned; and so on.

However, he did not inform the Commons that the authorities apparently place more value on the lives of boy trainees in the RAF than they do on school children, although only a few years, two to four, may divide them. I hear of boys that were being trained in a "safe" zone being removed to remoter country districts—until they are fully trained their lives are far too valuable to risk, on this reasoning—and London school children being moved into areas evacuated by them.

I am not ridiculing men tackling onerous and difficult tasks, but I do think they are bolstering up a pretty mad world, by allowing this state of affairs to exist.

The Christian's Duty

THE Archbishop of York played his part on Sunday night in preparing the nation for war.

In a broadcast address he said that, should war come, it would be the duty of the Christian to fight.

He did admit that some held that the Christian must take no part in war. He had a deep respect for those who took that view, and he believed that God called some to act upon it, giving them a special conviction to bear this witness to the unity of all God's family and the sovereignty of love.

Yet, he went on, if this view were put forward as binding upon all Christian people, he was sure that it was profoundly mistaken.

What the Archbishop does not seem to realize is that one's duty must be a matter for the individual conscience. If pacifists cannot expect their views to be binding upon all Christians—and they would not wish them to be other than freely accepted—it is also wrong for the Archbishop himself to declare that it is the duty of Christians to fight.

This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the view of the Peace Pledge Union.

D.O.R.A.'s DAUGHTER, E.P.A.

(continued from page 1)

importance than the safety of the State.

Listen to the *News Chronicle*:

And what of the so-called Left-wing Press?

Britain is now quietly resolved to face its duty. With a full sense of responsibility a united Parliament yesterday approved drastic emergency measures.

And the *Daily Herald*, the voice of the working man:

If we are involved in war, great challenges will come inevitably to many of the rights and freedoms which we cherish.

Some restrictions of these rights may be unavoidable, as in the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act passed by Parliament yesterday.

But we must be watchful lest the very liberties for which we are called upon to fight are lost in the waging of the battle.

Watchful? If this can happen in broad daylight, watchman, what of the night?

Alone the *Daily Worker* attacked the measure for what it was:

More than any other event [these powers] reveal the pro-fascist mentality of this Government. If tolerated [they] represent a heavy defeat for democracy in Britain. They should be opposed by every section of the Labour and Democratic movement.

The Communist Party may be muddled in much of its thinking, but it certainly recognizes totalitarianism when it sees it—probably because of its own close familiarity with it.

Moving the second reading of the Bill, Sir Samuel Hoare referred to the necessity of the Government having powers that would be "wide, drastic, comprehensive, and flexible" to meet a war situation. This is precisely what pacifist spokesmen have been saying for years.

The Act is not intended, he said, to authorize regulations affecting the liberty of the subject "such as any internment." The *Daily Telegraph* comments "there is no immediate intention to set up detention camps." The presumption is that they will come in time.

Another instance of the temporary nature of the measure's clemency is Sir

Samuel's reference to censorship and pressure on labour:

"We do not intend to bring into force regulations that would set up anything in the nature of a censorship of opinion, particularly Press opinion, until this country is actually involved in hostilities."

"I am also prepared to give an undertaking—it is, indeed, set out in the Bill—that we do not intend to deal with labour questions such as wage disputes. No doubt if we were involved in war there would have to be changes made in the field of labour legislation and administration."

The first batch of regulations under the Act have now been issued. They extend to 105 sections, occupying 68 pages, and totalling 25,000 words.

Typical of their intrusion into normal life is the section devoted to billeting:

Any person with authority of the Minister of Health or the Commissioners of Works may serve upon the occupier of any premises a billeting notice requiring the occupier to furnish lodgings or food, or both, with or without attendance.

Where a room is so required no other person shall be entitled to occupy it.

The price payable for billeting accommodation will be determined by the Minister of Health.

Offences under this regulation are liable to a fine up to £50 or imprisonment not exceeding three months, or both.

There used to be a proverb about an Englishman's home being his castle; presumably the latter description is now reserved for his Anderson shelter.

The moral of the passing of EPA is that an attempt to end fascism by force involves the use of fascist methods, which means that the user becomes fascist himself.

Liberties thus placidly surrendered will not easily be regained, however cheerfully we may whistle about it at the moment, as does the *News Chronicle*:

EPA has come to stay for a while, and promises to display the same nagging temperament which made her mother so unpopular. Nobody will be sorry if she decides to keep her visit short.

Truly, hope springs eternal . . . !

Andrew Stewart

CADBURY'S

BOURNVILLE COCOA

THE FOOD-DRINK OF THE PEOPLE

The Pacifist Stand in Parliament

IMPRESSIVE SPEECHES IN THE LORDS AND IN THE COMMONS

Mr. Lansbury

THERE is—and I should be a moral coward if I did not put my case—a minority in the country who do not accept the view that by force wrong can be righted and peace can be secured.

The last time that I spoke in a foreign affairs debate I tried to show the growth of power which went on from generation to generation, from one Government to another. To me it is an astounding fact that nations, just like individuals, for nations are aggregates of individuals, never seem to learn from experience.

We have heard today that we must meet force by force. That statement has been made in this House many times in the past, but the end of meeting force by force has always been the same.

I should like to call the attention of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen to a statement made by General Smuts, which is recorded in *The Times* of today:

"There were people who held that war in Europe would mean the end of the old order and of the old civilization. A new Far Eastern civilization may arise in Asia or a new Far Western civilization in America, but Europe will commit suicide in the next great war. If European nations cannot maintain peace it will be the end of their leadership and the end of their power."

No pacifist could make a more clear statement of the futility of war than that.

The Premier's Efforts

I listened to the Prime Minister this afternoon. Often when I have listened to him on foreign affairs I would have given a great deal, if I had it to give, to have been able to stand up and say that I could wholeheartedly support him, because whatever my friends may think, I believe that, rightly or wrongly, from the point of view of policy, he has done his very utmost to preserve peace.

Nothing would have made my old age more comfortable with pleasure than if I could have found myself for once standing behind any statesman who was taking his stand, even in a mistaken manner, for peace.

I cannot, however, follow the right hon. Gentleman, because in the end he comes back to the same old policy that to get peace you must fight; you must destroy for peace.

I know the right hon. Gentleman will say that that will be only if it be necessary, and if the conditions compel him to do so. I wish it were possible that I could hold that point of view.

"Terrible Situation"

It is not a nice thing for any of us to stand as it were against the overwhelming majority of one's countrymen, but my whole conviction, and it is stronger today than ever, strengthened by statements made by men like General Smuts and others, that if this catastrophe takes place it will be the end of the civilization in which my life has been spent, and from which men and women of my age expected so much.

We are facing up to this terrible situation, that perhaps within a few hours this event may happen.

Yesterday King Leopold, for the third or fourth time, made a noble appeal to the Governments that have power. His Majesty was kind enough three weeks ago to allow me to meet him, and I learned at first hand to understand his point of view, and what had moved him to make the appeals that he has made to Governments to prevent this catastrophe. He has now made his last appeal, and I am very grateful to my right hon. Friend the Deputy-Leader of the Opposition for his statement this afternoon.

In spite of the determination on all sides of the House, except in the case of a tiny minority, to fight in certain conditions, nobody has yet closed the door. That is to say, we have not yet said that it is utterly impossible that talks may take place.

I had hoped that out of the conference

A week ago Mr. Chamberlain made his momentous statement to a hurriedly summoned Parliament. Following him, Sir Samuel Hoare called for the passing of the Emergency Powers (Defence Act).

Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Maxton in the House of Commons, and Lord Arnold and Lord Ponsonby in the House of Lords, expressed the pacifist point of view on the crisis and on the Government's policy for dealing with it. We give below the main points from their speeches.

yesterday a concrete proposal for a conference would have emerged, but for reasons, which I know nothing about, the only thing that has come out is an appeal to the Powers. The British Government in their statement, said what has been said several times that the Government believe, and hon. and right hon. Friends on the Opposition benches have also said, that there are no questions at issue in Europe today which cannot be settled and should not be settled by discussion.

I hope the House will bear with me when I remind them that two years ago last April Herr Hitler published a declaration that the German Government at that time would be quite willing to attend a new conference if such a conference were summoned either by the President of the United States of America or by any other responsible statesmen in Europe or elsewhere.

"We Have Drifted"

Nothing happened, and through months we have drifted into a situation out of which came the smashing up of Czechoslovakia and other terrible happenings in Europe, until at this moment we are faced with the present grave position.

I still believe that if one of the Governments, either the United States Government or our own, at this eleventh hour, or nearly the twelfth hour, were to ask for a conference without any conditions, but that the men should come together as a statesman in Washington said to me a little more than two years ago—"come together without any programme and sit round a table, and one of them gave a lead and said 'The world is going to perdition, we men are responsible, what are we going to do about it?'" then, as that statesman said also, "We should not get very far perhaps for a week, but our minds would be turned from thinking how we can destroy the world to thinking how we can preserve the world."

I know I shall be told that I do not understand Herr Hitler and Colonel Beck and Signor Mussolini. It happens that I know their prototypes in this country. Men and women everywhere are much the same, and statesmen are much the same in all countries. (Hon. Members: "No.")

I may be allowed to express that opinion after having met all of them. I have that advantage, that I have seen them all face to face and talked to them, or rather they talked to me face to face. (Laughter.)

Peace Dependent on Two Men

I notice that that rather jeering cheer means that they did not listen to me. Don't you believe it. I am not the sort of person who is talked down to; I can talk down to people as well as they can to me.

The point I am making, and I make it in all seriousness, is that there are two men in Europe who, in my judgment, hold the peace of the world in their hands. One is Joseph Stalin and the other is Herr Hitler.

If I were the Prime Minister I should write to Stalin or telegraph to him and tell

him that I was going to see him as soon as an aeroplane could get me there. I know that there are people who all the time have thought that it was wrong to have dealings with the Bolsheviks. But I happen to have spent five hours with Joseph Stalin and I do not believe, and I shall not believe till the event proves it, that either Stalin or any other member of the Russian Government desires anything else but peace for Russia and peace for the world.

Deadlock

But we are in a situation now in which there is a worse deadlock than any we have had to face before.

I want to ask quite definitely that a response be made both to the appeal made by General Smuts and the appeal made by King Leopold, and that we will not just pass all this emergency legislation, but that some other steps, concrete steps, will be taken to bring about a meeting of those most concerned.

I repeat that I regret very much that I am unable to stand in with all my colleagues here and be behind the Government.

If war comes I shall take exactly the line that I took in the last War. I cannot help in a war, but I shall do my best in my own Division to help the victims who will be all around me. My district will probably be one that is attacked very early.

But whether that is so or not, if war comes—I want to disabuse my mind of the idea that war is likely to come—I want to feel that this House will tell the Prime Minister that, while they give him powers which they are obliged to give him if they support his policy, while they give him that power, I beg the House also to say to him, "We think you must take the initiative in bringing together these people. It is not enough to say that these questions can be settled by argument and by discussion. What is needed is a definite call to come round a table, and without conditions to discuss, as in a great labour dispute, the question at issue and try in an honest and decent way to find a solution."

What History Proves

Finally, and let us make no mistake about it, I say this to the whole House:

Most hon. Members are much better educated than I am. They probably know history much better than I do, but the whole record of history proves that over and over again men have sought to establish peace through war and over and over again they have failed.

How dare we old men send another 10,000,000 or 20,000,000 of the youth of the world to be again massacred for this chimera of peace through slaughter?

Peace can come only when the nations of the world are prepared to do justice by one another.

I believe that our people are willing to make great sacrifices for peace, not mere war for peace, but sacrifices of prestige and possessions. I believe that they are willing to do that. But what they want is somewhere in the country to find a body of men who will give them the lead.

Mr. Maxton

WITH all the peace sentiments that have been expressed this afternoon I am in complete agreement, but I do not conceal from myself, because of the very strong peace feeling in the House and the way in which it has been expressed by all spokesmen up to now, that what the Government are getting from the House at this moment is a mandate for war in certain eventualities.

At that point I am afraid that my hon. Friends and I part company with the Government, with the official Opposition and with the Independent Liberals behind me.

As the right hon. Member for Bow and Bromley has said, mankind has tried for 2,000 years to find civilization along this road.

Every country in the world has the dead bodies of men who have believed that war could achieve it.

Every country in the world has its flags and war trophies, and here we are now standing at cross roads where we are faced with the possibilities of a bigger and more horrible holocaust than ever before.

How many times has mankind to try the ordeal of war? How many times has mankind to go through it before realizing the complete futility of this way of getting to higher ways of life?

Sir William Davison: The Prime Minister said so.

Mr. Maxton: Yes, but he then said that we will try it again. (Hon. Members: "No.") If we are forced to do it; if someone else fires the first shot, we will let loose the second, and the world is in it.

I shall not attempt to estimate the extent and the duration of this struggle. I shall not attempt to estimate the cost to human happiness of this struggle, but every one of us can realise that if war breaks out it is going to be of great extent and long duration, and the thing that angers me more than anything else, from the point of view of my particular political philosophy, is the fact that these years that are just now opening up to us could be the greatest years for human elevation with which humanity has ever been presented.

I have to record my opposition to the Prime Minister's mandate to go to war. (Hon. Members: "No.")

Hon. Gentlemen will allow me to interpret the meaning of these proceedings in my own way.

Mandate to Premier

But I give to the Prime Minister a complete mandate and complete support for him to go out in the world, a warring world, a world of inflamed passions, a world ready to hurl millions of tons of scrap iron through the air at one another—to go out to the world and make a call for the nations of the world to build a new civilization, a civilization which will abolish poverty and inequalities, a civilization to which Great Britain is prepared to give, not a civilization out of which some sections of humanity are going to take.

The Prime Minister has our support for any action he may take for a great new world campaign for world civilization.

For war, he has no support from us.

Lord Arnold

THIS is an occasion for one who, like myself, is a Pacifist, to emphasize that another war if it comes will not settle anything, and will, on the contrary, leave the situation in Europe vastly worse than it is today.

Another war, as Lord Baldwin has told us, is likely to end in complete barbarous anarchy from one end of Europe to the other.

It is indeed scarcely credible that within twenty years of the last War, and with the experiences of that War fresh in the minds of many of us, Europe should seem to be on

(Continued on page 11.)

R. H. Thouless Speaking Personally on Religion and Peace

NEW ADVISORY BUREAUX FOR OBJECTORS

FOLLOWING are further additions and amendments to the full list of Advisory Bureaux for Conscientious Objectors which appeared in our August 18 issue. Any similar changes should be sent to the National Advisory Bureau, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and NOT to Peace News.

Additions

DENBIGH. Rev. J. H. Griffith, Argoed, Denbigh.
NELSON. Miss H. Wilson, 50 Chapelhouse Road, Nelson, Lancs.
OLDBURY. Alderman B. T. Robbins, "Elmhurst," 137 Moat Road, Oldbury.
SOUTHPORT. Robert H. Hawthornthwaite, Grove Cottage, 67b Manchester Road, Southport.

Amendments

BIRKENHEAD. A. H. Boyes, 28 Higher Bebington Road, Lower Bebington, Birkenhead.
LEEDS. Edna Lees, 27 The Avenue, Alwoodley Park, Leeds.
PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHSEA. Peter Cooper, 44 Ophir Road, North End, Portsmouth.

Future Tribunals

FUTURE meetings of the Tribunals for conscientious objectors under the Military Training Act, so far as they are known, will be:

NORTHERN COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND. In the Court House, Inverness, on August 31, at 10.30 a.m.

MIDLANDS. In County Court, Corporation Street, Birmingham, on September 11, 12, 14, 18, 19 and 20.

SOUTH-WESTERN. In Bristol on September 12, 13 and 14, when it hopes to complete its work.
EAST ANGLIA. In Crown Court, Shire Hall, Cambridge, at 2 p.m. on September 14.

LONDON. On September 18 in West London County Court, 43 North End Road, Fulham.

Aid for London Applicants

Conscientious Objectors who have to appear before the Tribunals sitting in Shoreditch County Court or the West London County Court are invited to apply to the Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1 (near Euston Station) if they need help in London.

Bristol Tribunal

In our report last week on the decisions of the Bristol Tribunal we stated in error that Mr. V. Penny (gent's outfitter), of Bath, was given exemption on condition that he remained in his present or similar employment for the next twelve months. He was given unconditional exemption.

The Way to End All These Crises

IS Europe to go on, month by month, just avoiding the rocks but with ultimate shipwreck so apparently inevitable that finally we shall be content to say: If it is to happen at all, it may as well happen now?

Obviously nobody wants this. The continual danger of war is an evil we should all like to avoid. The common opinion in this country seems to be, however, that the danger of war is entirely due to one individual and that if Hitler could be eliminated so also would the war danger.

For the time it probably would, but the causes that led to the rise of Hitlerism would still be acting, and the danger would only arise in a new form after a few years. Nothing but the removal of those causes can lead to real peace in Europe. Those causes lie in the unjust and vindictive Treaty of Versailles. Our part in promoting the peace of Europe is not scolding Hitler but, even now, attempting the just settlement which was not made in 1919.

Our War Propaganda

ONE sometimes hears reasonable and humane people attributing our present unrest to the fact that the Treaty of Versailles was not sufficiently severe, and saying that if war with Germany again breaks out, we must destroy Germany finally and sow her land with salt.

Even Professors of Modern History, aware of the flagrant contradictions between the promises of Wilson's Fourteen Points and the fulfilments of the Treaty of Versailles, write learned articles to prove that the Allies were not bound by the Fourteen Points when they made the Peace Treaty because the German Government had already rejected the offer to negotiate a peace on the basis of the Fourteen Points some months before the armistice.

Whether this was so or not, I do not know. That it is quite irrelevant must be obvious to anyone who has made any study of Allied war propaganda, since the promise to make a just and equal peace with the German people as soon as they had got rid of the Kaiser, was made repeatedly to the German soldiers.

Wilson's speeches were some of the most valuable propaganda material of the Allies. They were showered on the German trenches by aeroplanes, floated down rivers, sent over by balloons, and distributed in every way that the ingenuity of our propaganda department could devise.

These promises undoubtedly played a large part in breaking up the military morale of the German armies, and making possible the final revolution when the German people turned out the Kaiser and looked to the Allies for the promised bread of peace and were given a stone.

No Discrimination

THE facts of Allied propaganda and the things promised to the Germans by the Allies can be read in No. 13 of the Hoover War Library Publications—*Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire in 1918*, by Dr. G. G. Bruntz,

published last year by the Stanford University Press.

There was to be no discrimination between the victors and the vanquished when it came to a settlement at the end of the war. A just and lasting peace was to be made with the German people. All they needed to do to obtain this just peace was to break away from the Hohenzollerns and establish a democratic government. This was the propaganda of hope which induced German soldiers to desert and helped to pave the way for the revolution of 1918. If we had not been bound by promises, it would have been good policy to have made such a peace, to have had also, in Wilson's phrase (which I quote from memory), "an absolutely impartial settlement of the colonial question."

These promises were not kept. At the peace conference, Germany was treated as a vanquished and guilty nation. Faced by the opportunity of establishing peace in Europe for centuries, the Allied statesmen made a treaty of hatred, from which has arisen Hitlerism and the threat of another war, and, on the Allied side, the determination not to let Germany off so lightly next time.

We Should Confess

SOMEWHERE or other, I have read a Buddhist story of a woman who (with her children) was about to be eaten by an ogre. She pleaded for mercy, but the ogre said that he was right to kill her because, in a previous incarnation, he had himself been a sheep which had been mercilessly torn to pieces by the woman who had then been incarnated as a wolf.

The woman, however, reminded him that this had been a just revenge for a cruelty committed by the ogre in a still earlier incarnation. So they went back, remembering the chain of cruelties committed by each in turn, of which each seemed to the person committing it to be a just revenge for the last.

I remember the story only vaguely and the details may not be correct, but the general idea is right. It has always seemed to me a good parable of the rivalry between nations in Europe, and it has the same moral. I forget how the story ended, but I think the ogre realized that the chain of cause and effect could only be broken if, at some point, the person who was last a victim renounced his revenge. So the ogre did not eat the woman and the evil chain was broken.

Our evil chain might have been broken at Versailles and it was not. It does not now seem that it is to be broken by our late enemies. Exactly what is to be done must be decided by our statesmen; it is obvious that it may be more difficult to right a wrong than it would have been to avoid committing it.

One thing we could do, and that is acknowledge that a wrong has been committed. If our leaders could say publicly that the taking of the German colonies and the exaction of an indemnity after the war were contrary to their pledged word, contrary to justice, and contrary to any sound policy for peace in Europe, then it should not pass the wit of man even now to devise a workable plan for putting right the wrongs of Versailles and for remedying the genuine grievances of the German Government.

Where's that Sixpence?

THERE are still many members of the Peace Pledge Union who have not bought one of the bricks (price 6d.) of which Dick Sheppard House, the new PPU headquarters, is built.

Laurence Housman pointed out, at the opening of Dick Sheppard House, that if each PPU member would "be a brick" and do this, the 124,000 bricks of which the house is built would be paid for.

So far, however, only about 1,000 members have done so and

up to Wednesday morning

14,974

bricks had been sponsored.

If you haven't sent your contribution yet, Mr. Frank B. Middleton, accountant of the PPU, will be glad to receive any further contributions at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Don't forget also, that proceeds from the sale of photographs taken at the Harrogate Conference are to go to the Brick Fund.

"THE common opinion in this country seems to be, however, that the danger of war is entirely due to one individual and that if Hitler could be eliminated so also would the war danger.

"For the time it probably would, but the causes that led to the rise of Hitlerism would still be acting, and the danger would only arise in a new form after a few years.

"Nothing but the removal of those causes can lead to real peace in Europe."

★

This is the second of three articles by Dr. Thouless.

"Speaking Personally" is an open forum for the free expression of opinion on topics of current interest.

Previous contributors have included Arthur Wragg, Laurence Housman, Lord Sanderson, Vera Brittain, John Middleton Murry, Max Plowman, Lord Ponsonby, Leonard Barnes, Richard Gregg, Rose Macaulay, Prof. G. E. G. Catlin, J. D. Beresford and Ethel Mannin.

Peace Council Urges Conciliation and General Settlement

THE Bishop of Chelmsford (Dr. Henry Wilson) and Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, as officers of the National Peace Council, have sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister:

"As officers of the N.P.C. representing British peace bodies earnestly urge British Government take every possible step encourage direct Polish-German negotiations or conciliation under conditions proposed by Roosevelt.

"Equally urge necessity for associated declaration British readiness join in and make substantial contributions to general conference for settlement economic and armament problems as again proposed by Roosevelt."

Cable to Roosevelt

The Executive Committee of the National Peace Council has sent the following cable to President Roosevelt:

"British National Peace Council deeply appreciating your initiatives, earnestly urges you to intensify efforts to encourage a negotiated solution of the Danzig problem and to secure a subsequent conference on a wider basis for the promotion of general economic welfare and stable peace."

LEAD, KINDLY LIGHT

THE darkness which is falling on Europe today is lit by one clear beam.

It is the declaration by Great Britain and France that, come what may, these two most powerful nations of the Old World will meet force with superior force if any attempt is made to destroy yet another great free democracy in Poland. [Our italics].

—Daily Mail, August 24.

THE ADELPHI

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What they Thought of the Pact

"ALL over the world," said *The Times* on August 23, "the news of the projected pact [between Russia and Germany] caused surprise, consternation, disgust, or jubilation, according to the predisposition of the different countries . . ."

Whatever may be the morality of this particular diplomatic about-face—and we can leave that to the political purists—the fact remains that by this pact Russia and Germany have agreed, for ten years:

Not to go to war with one another; and
Not to enter into alliances against one another.

How shocking!

At least so our national Press thinks, with the understandable exception of the *Daily Worker*. Here are some opinions.

Daily Herald

" . . . one of the most astounding and shocking reversals of policy in history . . ."
" . . . a bigger betrayal of peace and of European freedom even than Munich."

—August 22.

" . . . the bitter and unexpected blow to peace which has been struck by Russia . . ."
" . . . one of the most indefensible and shocking reversals of policy in history."

—Francis Williams, August 25.

"The British Government's attitude on numerous occasions, disastrously wrong as it has been, provides no justification for Russia's complete betrayal of the principles for which she appeared until last week to stand so firmly."

"To Socialists particularly the Soviet reversal of policy is bitter."

—August 28.

News Chronicle

"This new pact shows up the almost incredible rashness of the British Government. . . . It . . . gave guarantees to Poland and Rumania, two countries which it could not—cannot—defend without the help of Russia and yet only began negotiations with that country under extreme pressure from the political Oppositions . . ."

"What now? Should Poland fight, we must unhesitatingly carry out our pledge, even though we should be fighting against odds far greater than would have appeared possible a year ago."

—Vernon Bartlett, August 23.

"So far we have nothing to go upon but the astonishing comment of *Izvestia* that the pact is bound to pacify the extremely tense international situation and contribute to the consolidation of peace." (our italics).

—August 25.

Daily Worker

"A victory for peace and Socialism against the war plans of Fascism and the pro-Fascist plans of Chamberlain."

—Communist Party Statement, August 23.

"The leaders of the Labour Party are avoiding their responsibilities. They are seeking to cover up their own complicity with Chamberlain by blaming Russia."

"The game of blaming Russia has got to stop."

—August 26.

" . . . an end must be made of all the double-dealing that has been going on."

—August 23.

G.B.S. says:

Discussing the German pact with Russia Mr. Shaw said he could not understand why people were upset about it. Instead of being depressed he thought we ought to have "illuminated the town and rejoiced."

The pact had made the situation better, not worse. Herr Hitler was now under the powerful thumb of Stalin, whose interest in peace was overwhelming. Any influence that he had was bound to be a restraining one. He was the one man beyond suspicion in the matter of peace.

—*News Chronicle*, August 29.

"For this Relief . . ."

" . . . there is no immediate intention to set up detention camps . . . " [Our italics].

Daily Telegraph, August 25, commenting on the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act.

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How to Create Confidence

I DO not remember a time when wars did not seem to me boring and disgusting, ridiculous and pathetic. History, taught almost exclusively as the history of wars, of plotting and planning and threatening wars, seemed a tale told by an idiot, signifying nothing.

All the manoeuvrings, the alliances, the intrigues, the armies and fortifying and conscripting, the falsifying of history, the appeal to passion and the fostering of an exclusive herd-instinct mis-called patriotism, could be summarized as a monotonous and senseless round of efforts by some herds to dominate other herds.

Ambition to Conquer

The rise and fall of empires (except when due to physical causes not yet completely under human control) appeared to be always due to the same tiresome ambition to conquer, to get, to dominate; an ambition not different in kind from that of the child between the ages of two and six.

The psychology of infancy is a most interesting and useful science, but we should not make the motives and conceptions of even the robustest infant our standard of the desires and ambitions of those we call Great Men.

Yet, in the habitual thought of unnumbered centuries, we find the quality of Greatness associated with just these infantile motives of conquest, acquisition, domination; a chief cause of the disastrous slowness of man's development.

AT last (or it must be admitted largely through the blind integration of the material world) man is awakening to the need for a corresponding integration of the political world. He is slowly recognizing that the day of mutually hostile herds is passing, because their hostilities are becoming too nihilistic.

The passions of conquest, acquisition, domination are atavistic passions and no longer serve useful ends. Man must learn to fit his governmental institutions to the

actual needs which humanity has in common, not to the imagined needs of his own little herd. There can have been no resounding victory which left such deep disgust or disenchantment among the victors as that of 1918.

The Great Truth

The great truth that we ought to consider all men as our fellows, first appearing as an ethical imperative countless centuries ago, is being reinforced by material considerations of a kind that man has not had

By
H. M. Swanwick

to meet in any previous century. We are being made to feel not only that we ought to be member of one another, but that—like it or not—we are. It is a tremendous challenge to the intelligence of one which cannot be met unless we cease to ask exclusively, "Can we trust others?" and ask far more insistently, "Can others trust us? What are we doing to win their trust?"

THE matter is complicated by the fact that the nations are at different stages of political development or that we cannot expect that we shall advance together smoothly on an even front.

All the more necessary is it that those who are beginning to see the necessity and the hope and the beauty of a co-operative world and who wish to work for it should not cripple their work at the very outset by an arrogant assumption that "We are The People."

In a book published last year (*The Roots of Peace*) I suggested that, though our ultimate end might be a new European, or even world order, "our immediate end should be to make ourselves fit for it." We shall be fit for it when we have persuaded others that we are trustworthy; when we

have done our part in the creation of confidence.

The New League

It is of the utmost importance that one of the basic errors of the League of Nations shall not be repeated and that existing mutually hostile alliances, ephemeral as they are (like all such windlestraws in the past), shall not determine the nature of what should be a permanent, if unfinished, structure.

It is essential that federal organization should be so begun and so inspired as not to provoke—instead of confidence—a counter-effort on the part of the excluded. It will not work for good unless good will works it. If, like the League, it is worked as a continuation of war-alliances, its ruin can be predicted and it will be an even more disastrous ruin.

It would be a salutary exercise to ask ourselves why Holland and Denmark, Norway and Sweden are generally trusted and whether these and other "neutral" Powers would consent to associate themselves again politically with the "Great Powers," as once they did in that mis-managed experiment.

LEAGUES and Federations and Unions are machines, forms of government, depending entirely for good or ill on the spirit that works them. We spent a generation on devising and tinkering with League machinery and we allowed many evil spirits to work it. But all the evil deeds and words of men return against them in loss of confidence.

The Gods fit the punishment to the crime: the liar is not believed, the pledge-breaker is not trusted, the egoistic imperialist is shunned. Germany is not the only country whose government has lied and broken its word. Even the original League Members, the Allies, never trusted each other. The judgment of the Gods is upon us.

" . . . The Gods alone
Remember everlastingly; they strike
Remorselessly, and ever like for like.
By their great memories the Gods are known."

World Leaders Call for Conference as Way to Peace

AS tension mounted during last week, a number of peace appeals were made by highly placed people in various lands. Most striking were those of President Roosevelt, King Leopold, and the Pope.

It is noteworthy that in each case, although war seemed imminent, they pointed out that another method of solving European problems was available—the method of conference, conciliation, and reason.

Here are the words in which they pleaded for the adoption of that method.

President Roosevelt's messages to the King of Italy on Thursday (August 24). A copy of the communication was delivered to Signor Mussolini:

"On April 14 last I suggested in essence an understanding that no armed forces should attack or invade the territory of any other independent nation, and that, this being assured, discussions should be undertaken to seek progressive relief from the burden of armaments and open the avenues of international trade, including the sources of raw materials necessary for the peaceful economic life of each nation."

"I said that in these discussions the United States would gladly take part, and such peaceful conversations would make it wholly possible for Governments other than the United States to enter into peaceful discussions of the political and territorial problems in which they are directly concerned. Were it possible for your Majesty's Government to formulate proposals for a pacific solution of the present crisis along these lines, you are assured of the earnest sympathy of the United States."

King Leopold's broadcast speech on Wednesday (August 23) on behalf of the King of Denmark, the President of the Republic of Finland, the Grand Duchess of Luxemburg, the King of Norway, the Queen of Holland, the King of Sweden, and in his own name:

"The world is living in such a period of tension that there is a risk that all international co-operation should become impossible . . . Lack of confidence reigns everywhere. But there is no people which wants to send its children to their deaths. All the States have the same interest. Time is getting short. If we wait much longer it will become more difficult to make direct contacts."

"We want peace with respect for the rights of all nations. It is our wish that the differences between nations should be submitted to conciliation in a spirit of good will. Tomorrow hundreds of millions of people will be hoping that the differences which separate heads of States may be settled by means of conciliation. Let those in whose hands rests the destiny of the peoples apply themselves to settle peacefully the differences which separate them."

The Pope's broadcast appeal for peace on Thursday night (August 24):

"Let men understand one another again and start negotiating. In negotiating with good will and with respect for their reciprocal rights they will realize that peaceful negotiations never exclude an honourable success."

But even if the immediate problem is solved without war, wider issues will remain. This was recognized in the message to the German people from the National Council of Labour: "If peace can be saved now a new world and a new Europe can be built and a new prosperity can be shared."

We must not let the crisis over Danzig drive that fundamental need into oblivion.

Most Sensible Voice in the Peace Front

SO, even now, war is by no means inevitable. But in the midst of utter uncertainty one thing is certain. If we escape war this year, we cannot hope to escape it for long without taking active steps to remove the current causes of disorder.

The Peace Front . . . must produce a positive peace policy prepared on a basis of disarmament and fair dealing, to adjust every inequality—geographical, political, economic—and to take energetic steps to see it brought to fruition.

The idea that having once got strong we can sit comfortably back and carry on as we are, ignoring the challenge from without is crazy. That way catastrophe lies. Whatever may be going to happen to us in the days to come, we are in for a strenuous life.

John Bouverie, *News Chronicle*, Aug. 22.

Why should this gesture have to wait until (in John Bouverie's words) "the moment [the Peace Front] is in a position of undeniably equal strength"?

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Suppose We "Stopped Aggression": What Next?

asks



**Dr. Alfred
Salter, M.P.**

IT is a strange fact that while people everywhere want peace and want it desperately, they are unwilling to take those steps that will make peaceful conditions possible. They are willing to submit to unheard-of sacrifices for defence but they cannot be persuaded even to think about far smaller sacrifices that will ensure peace.

The intelligent pacifist must recognize the inadequacy of individualist and merely negative pacifism. It is necessary to say "I renounce war and will never support another," but that is only the beginning of pacifism. There is urgent need for a positive, constructive, corporate pacifism.

The Women's Peace Union of New York has issued a letter to all candidates for election to Congress which begins: "Mr. Candidate, we want something better than gas-masks for our children. We want policies of active, energizing good will worked out by our legislators—good will applied to every angle of life, economic, political, national and international. Will you protect the children of our country by building up a force more efficacious, less treacherous, less uncertain than battleships, aeroplanes and other weapons of death? Then only can we have safety."

Face the Problem, Don't Dodge it

Lord Tavistock in *John Bull* writes: "It is an important fact that from the end of the Great War up to the present time a series of British Governments have done absolutely nothing of practical value to earn the good will of the ordinary people of Germany and Italy."

At the annual delegate conference of the Transport and General Workers' Union at Bridlington in July Mr. Ernest Bevin said: "Middle Europe has a case, but war will not solve it. That problem has to be faced. Instead of facing it the Government has accentuated the difficulties. They tried to close the British Empire by means of the Ottawa Agreement, while apart from Middle Europe and Germany the effect of that act has been terrible for China and the rest of the world."

Instead of "facing the problem" all the political parties (and many pacifists) are trying to dodge it. We are piling up armaments and forming military alliances so that the amount of force on our side shall be overwhelming and shall "deter aggressors." Well, what then? The present situation cannot go on for ever as it is, however great the aggregate strength on our side. All nations will be financially exhausted before very long and the return of industry to a peace footing will become in-

creasingly difficult if not impossible without an economic catastrophe.

Supposing the "deterrence" view of the Peace Front advocates is correct, what then? Germany may be deterred for a space from committing any overt act of aggression. But as Bevin and others have pointed out, that will merely give a breathing space. What next? In the present state of world economy Germany cannot get back to normal peaceful conditions without complete breakdown, wholesale inflation and unexampled unemployment, worse even than that which followed the Treaty of Versailles.

What are the Alternatives?

The temptation to a gamble by war will be almost irresistible, for the alternative, given a continuance of present world economic relations, will be just as bad from her point of view. Germany may be beaten, probably will be, but would a military defeat be worse in its effect? After all, anything might happen if there was a war, would run the argument.

Hitler cannot go to war, autocrat though he is, unless he has his people, or 90 per cent of them, solidly behind him. Germans understand the situation quite well. They know that under existing international trade conditions, not only will there be no "place in the sun" for Germany in the future but there will be no chance of anything except unending poverty, misery and chronic semi-starvation. Germany's lack of raw materials, her inability to feed herself from her own soil, and the closing of markets by tariffs and kindred means, make that prospect inevitable.

So the average German, and the average German worker, will stick by Hitler unless he can see a hope of something better by adopting a policy different from that of Hitler, i.e., the policy of getting something by threats of violence.

What encouragement to abandon the Hitler viewpoint are we going to give to the ordinary German, as decent a soul as any in Britain, home loving, industrious, educated, reflective?

Some pacifists for a long while have been advocating the calling of a World Economic Conference at which these economic questions could be talked out. That is

essential, but it is equally vital that beforehand we should make unequivocal declarations as to what steps, generally speaking, we are willing to take to make the world a livable place for other people beside ourselves. Otherwise neither Germany nor any "Have-not" nation will come near the Conference.

The British and French Governments asked Van Zeeland to investigate and draw up an economic plan to this end, so that all nations could have equally free access to the inexhaustible raw materials of the world, now largely ringed round and monopolized. Van Zeeland produced his Report—and it was promptly put in cold storage. We may have difficulties in implementing it in all its details, but its general principles are unassailable and we ought to announce in advance our willingness to accept and apply these principles.

In the past we have stolen the lands of other and weaker peoples all over the globe, and we now call them "our" colonies. France and other countries have done the same, and pre-war Germany followed, though we were easily the first and most successful at the game.

All the non-self-governing colonies ought to be internationalized, placed under the control of the League of Nations, and no one country should derive more benefit therefrom than any other nation either as a market or as a source of raw materials. Every nation in the world must be placed on an equal footing in this regard.

Winning Over the German Worker

"Germany must export or die," said Hitler in one of his most famous speeches. Unless the ordinary, common-or-garden German can be made to believe that we will in future treat his country so that he too will have a chance of a decent life, he will stand by Hitler, who tells him that the Allies will never make a concession except to force.

Agreement as to marketing must be reached, with a definite end of cut-throat competition, the restriction of production and all the other horrible features of present international capitalist exploitation.

I beg members of the Peace Pledge Union to think along these lines. We have not merely to be willing to "live and let live," but we must corporately and nationally be prepared to do unto others as we would be done by. That means sacrifice on our part, but it will be nothing to the sacrifices involved by a war.

Whose Responsibility?

(continued from page 1)

that, so far from defending democracy, war—and even its mere preparation—destroys it step by step; that (to quote a famous American writer) "it is of the essence of war that the evils that you seek to destroy by it are not destroyed but enter into your own lives and souls"; and that since the nations must come, in the end, to the conference table it is infinitely better to come now than after a war.

Hitler's Move?

Almost at once one will come up against the argument that the issue of peace to war does not rest with us in this country, but with Herr Hitler. Nothing could be more dangerous at a time when every effort is needed, from whatever quarter it can be persuaded to come, to prevent the disaster of war.

True, it is difficult—for us at any rate—to understand how anyone in Germany can think it worth the price of so great a disaster to bring within their frontiers even indisputably German territory whose exclusion does not appear—again, to us—to have been in practice so great a hardship. M. Daladier, in his message to Herr Hitler, said that "if French and German blood flows anew, as 25 years ago, in a still longer and more murderous war, destruction and barbarity will be the surest victors." Herr Hitler replied, "I fully realize the grave consequences which such a conflict produces."

And we in this country find it difficult to understand how even his concern for "an honourable future for my people" can make Herr Hitler think "such a conflict" not too dear a price to pay for that future. We say that the decision to pay that price, or not to pay it, is his responsibility, not ours.

★

BUT—even leaving aside altogether such vitally important questions as whether the exclusion of German territory from the Reich has or hasn't been a hardship, and whether or not there has been hardship

in the matter of economic access to non-German territory—there are still two important facts for us in this country to bear in mind.

The first is that if it is folly for Germany to go to war to regain German territory, it is greater folly for us to pay the same gigantic price to prevent that. If Germany has a heavy responsibility for making such a decision, how much greater is our responsibility for seeing that that decision is not made!

It is pleaded, alternatively, that we would not be fighting merely to preserve the present state of affairs in Danzig, or even, necessarily, in Poland. It is pleaded that we would be fighting for national independence, to prevent domination by one country and for other ideals.

Question of Ideals

If that kind of plea is to be made seriously, we have a second, and perhaps greater, responsibility. We have the responsibility, not only of being sincere about it, but of convincing people (especially the supposed opponents of those ideals) that we are sincere.

Hence it is a duty (and not merely the carping or "pro-nazi" criticism it is sometimes said to be) to keep before the ideal-loving British public such matters as British policy in India (to give only one example). For the same reason, it is more important for us to remind people in this country of such matters than to retail the counterpart sins of, say, Germany which others so effectively distribute wholesale.

Nor is it to be either pro-nazi or callous to point out, as a simple, if regrettable, matter of fact, that differences of degree, niceties of application, and qualms about physical suffering make no difference to the principle of domination whether it be by Britons in Asia or Germans in Europe. At any rate these things make no difference to the people who, whether we like

it or not, really matter in this case—namely the people whom we are trying to convince of the sincerity of our crusade against domination.

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AND even if we assume (as we naturally do) our complete sincerity, we still have the responsibility of clear thinking.

Indeed, the responsibility is particularly heavy upon those who are so sure of the justice of their cause to be equally sure of the means to their end. If it is wrong of Herr Hitler to go to war for "an honourable future" for his people (as it is), it is equally wrong of us to go to war for similar ideals.

Or, to come nearer home, it is as wrong for us as for Irishmen to seek our ends by violent means.

Liberty Curtailed

Actually, and fortunately for the hope of the future of civilization, there seems at the moment of writing to be every indication (behind the façade of bravado and attempts to seem frightful) that the statesmen of Britain and Germany are aware of these responsibilities, and will accordingly come to a settlement without war.

It is those of us who have allowed our liberty to be so drastically curtailed by the Emergency Powers Act (described elsewhere in this issue) who have failed most in the matter of responsibility.

There has been altogether too much support for a war (in certain circumstances) described as for freedom. There has been not only almost unanimous support, but thereafter the most unconcerned and docile acceptance of a measure that—without any fighting at all, let alone as a result of defeat in war—has actually made a very big attack, not on Poland's freedom, but on our own freedom in our own homes!

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NECESSARY (in a sense) if you must have war, this measure of dictatorship is nevertheless itself a self-inflicted defeat if the object of the war is to defend freedom. Yet it has been accepted with scarcely a murmur.

If there is to be no war, it is both a greater defeat and an entirely unnecessary one. How soon will the people recover from it?

All in a Maze

The Higher Worldliness

THERE appears in your columns today a statement as to the use of armed force in defence of international law. It is weightily signed by men whom I am not worthy to criticize, including the Archbishop of York and nine diocesan bishops. While anxious statesmen, striving for peace, may have doubts, most of those who welcome the higher worldliness in international affairs will approve it. Stalin in a moment of moral exaltation might have added his signature, for in the statement there is no mention of Christ or appeal to Christian ideals.

I had thought that leaders of the Church of England, even when gravely preoccupied by the complexities of a supremely difficult world situation, existed to preach Christ and to proclaim Christian principles. Have the signatories forgotten that their Master, if the Gospel according to St. Matthew be accurate, believed that He could have had "more than twelve legions of angels" to protect Him from arrest; that, repudiating the use of force, He went to the Cross, a typical saint of non-resistance?

Some of us believe that, according to the Gospel, the kingdom of righteousness, will come through the innocent suffering of good men. We do not see it coming as the result of a policy which in the end might only too easily lead to our attempting to drop high explosive bombs on the women and children of Berlin.

—The Bishop of Birmingham.
Letter to *The Times*.
July 7th, 1938.

The above is an extract from the Peace and War anthology "All in a Maze," by Daniel George, with some assistance from Rose Macaulay. It is published by Collins, 6s. net.

Solution for a Refugee Scandal

TEMPORARY HAVEN IS NEEDED FOR HOMELESS WANDERERS ON THE HIGH SEAS

From Our Own Correspondent

BEYROUTH.

ALL those who have had to deal with the refugee problem are aware of the situation created by unscrupulous shipping companies or "travel agencies" who offer to carry immigrants to some foreign land, usually Palestine, guaranteeing them permission to land and settle even if they have no legal authorization.

Those who trust those promises find themselves packed on board usually tiny ships unfit to carry passengers and discover that no harbour in Palestine or elsewhere will allow them to land. They wander on the high seas outside anybody's territorial waters or jurisdiction, sometimes for weeks until the Captain either manages to land them clandestinely or decides to return with them to the port of departure, indifferent to what may happen to them after.

Bound for Palestine

The recent case of the "St. Louis" was only an extreme one of the kind. The exceptional publicity it attracted spared her occupants a return to Germany and concentration camps. But, at the present time, several ships are known to be wandering in the Eastern Mediterranean hoping to land their passengers in Palestine, a hope which the precautions now taken against clandestine immigration render absolutely illusory. In fact, they presumably will not be allowed to land anywhere.

A particularly pitiful case is that of a ship from Rumania carrying some 700 refugees from Czecho-Slovakia, nearly all from the professional middle class, which came into Beyrouth some two weeks ago short of food and water, infested by rats, with people suffering from scurvy. As an exceptional favour, they were allowed to land in the Harbour Quarantine Quarters and have been maintained there by the charity of the Beyrouth Jewish Community and other sympathizers.

They are still here, and everything that can be thought of is being tried to save them from a forced return to Rumania and Prague, with what success we cannot tell yet.

Fundamental Problem

The immediate problem, however, is not that of this particular boat load whose fate will have been settled before these lines reach any readers. It is that of the other boat loads now at sea and of more boat loads likely to be embarked in the weeks to come, and even if the exposure of this inhuman traffic leads to suppression by the Authorities, this leaves still untouched the plight of the thousands of would-be refugees who do not know where to go.

German Workers' Secret Messages to France

MESSAGES of solidarity from German workmen have been found in bales of goods from Germany opened in Paris.

La Patrie Humaine, the French pacifist weekly, which tells of these messages, also reports that in Toulouse a garage worker discovered a message from a German worker, reading: "We are friends of the French people. No war." This message had also been hidden in a bale of goods.

The same paper also tells of a message received from a German mother by a French boy who had sent up a marked balloon which reached Stuttgart. The German woman had found the balloon and sent the boy a letter ending with the words: "May God stave off war."

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The fundamental problem seems to be that existing arrangements can only deal with refugees who have received a visa or other pass for a definite country permanently or temporarily. Without such an authorization, which is strictly individual, no legal entry is possible anywhere, and no reputable refugee organizations can connive at illegal immigration quite apart from its increasing difficulty.

A Possible Solution

The suggestion I and others here venture to make may have been already considered and turned down. We do not know, but bring it forward for what you may think it is worth. It is this: what seems to be needed is a place, probably several places, where anyone can find temporary shelter while steps can be taken to find some permanent home, places to which one can go without a visa (though not without identification papers).

Such centres should be preferably accessible by sea so as to obviate the problem of transit through unwelcoming countries—they should form areas in which the refugees are effectively segregated so as to be unable to effect clandestine settlement into the country or to enter the local labour market. These are, we understand, the lines on which the French have dealt with the problem of Spanish refugees. What is needed is something similar for refugees from Central Europe.

The difficulties of organization should not be really serious. If the Army can set up camps at very short notice on a large scale, such civilian camps, which would need much less equipment and could practically run themselves, should be easy enough to establish.

The problem of location is more complicated. We venture to suggest the hinterland of Cyprus, the coasts of Tunisia and Algeria, or of South France. Turkey might not be unwilling to co-operate. (Syria is out of the question owing to its proximity to Palestine, access to which is now finally barred for months.)

There remains the question of finance. This obviously cannot be the sole responsibility of the country offering hospitality. It must be a matter for existing refugee organizations with the help of governmental international funds such as were recently indicated in official pronouncements in Great Britain and France.

Question of Humanity

We may be told that we are underestimating the difficulties and complications of such a scheme. We would in reply urge two considerations. First, that at least some committee or individuals should explore the suggestions in all their aspects and urge them on the competent authorities before they be turned down. We would gladly take this up ourselves, but it can obviously only be done by people living in Western Europe.

Secondly, let us face the alternative of sending such men and women back to conditions that mean death or what may be as bad as death to them, or of forcing them to remain under such conditions if they cannot escape. Can we and our Governments really accept the inhumanity and the social waste of such an alternative? Its realization should make it possible either to overcome the difficulties involved or to devise some better scheme.

This question of the misery and suffering of hundreds of thousands of refugees is not only a political question, and we do not approach it from the political side. It is a question of our common humanity, and everyone who can feel and sympathize for human suffering inflicted on a people who have done nothing to deserve the present conditions must appeal and urge upon all to see a solution of the present situation by finding a home, even a temporary one, until permanent satisfactory arrangements can be made.

A Necessary Precaution?

GIBRALTAR, August 24.

ACCORDING to a police announcement today all musicians and other performers in Gibraltar establishments, except British, are ordered to quit Gibraltar before Saturday, when their permits of residence will be cancelled. All necessary precautions for the defence of Gibraltar have now been taken.

—The Times, August 25, 1939.

PACIFISM GROWS IN N.Z.

FOUR people met nine months ago and started the Peace Pledge Union in New Zealand. The membership has now reached 250 of which the North Island claims 140.

The secretary, Michael Young, informs us that after next Christmas he hopes to leave town and work on farms, &c. throughout the country, staying for a few weeks in each place. At the same time he intends to contact all pacifists and form as many branches as possible.

Members out there wish to thank those groups and individuals who have been posting Peace News and other literature to them in New Zealand.

Prophecy

THE event [the Russo-German Pact] has either brought war much nearer or pushed the prospect of it much further away.

—News Chronicle, August 23.

P.P.U. Member, Televised, Quotes "Thou Shall Not Kill"

MR. L. A. HISLAM, who was arrested following a scene in Downing Street on Monday, resigned his membership of the Peace Pledge Union before making his protest.

He is now in custody, having refused bail, and will appear before the magistrate again on Monday.

Pacifist views were expressed by Mr. Hislam during a televised interview on Saturday.

Mr. Hislam was one of those who accepted the BBC's offer to "come and be televised" at Radiolympia, and it was arranged that he should be interviewed on the subject of "Community Living."

After one or two opening questions from Miss Elizabeth Cowell, the interviewer, he told of the community in which he lives (the Dick Sheppard Centre at Peckham). He also mentioned the Cotswold Brotherhood, founded in Germany in 1920 and later transferred to Britain, as well as groups which assist those living in the distressed areas.

"Thou Shalt Not Kill"

Turning to larger issues, he showed that the world was faced with the urgent choice, "Co-operate or be annihilated."

Toward the end of his interview he said: "There is one thing that those who believe in this co-operative community know—that 'a bayonet is a weapon with a worker at both ends.' War is contrary to all the teachings of Christianity."

He concluded by quoting the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill."

[In April Mr. Hislam was arrested while distributing the PPU leaflet, *The Warning*, outside a cinema, where the National Service recruiting film of that title was being shown. The case was dismissed by the Lambeth Bench after only one of the witnesses for the prosecution had been heard.

Mr. Hislam was also summoned recently for refusing to pay that part of his income tax which he calculated was devoted to preparation for war.]

MORE C.O.s FACE TRIBUNAL IN SOUTH WALES

How Observers View the Decisions

MORE conscientious objectors under the Military Training Act appeared before the South Wales Tribunal in Cardiff on Monday of last week, in Swansea on the Thursday, and in Carmarthen yesterday. The Tribunal for the Northern Counties of Scotland also sat yesterday in Inverness.

A report on the Swansea session of the South Wales Tribunal, which appears below, declares that "it almost seemed that the decisions had been discussed beforehand."

Up to the time of going to press we had not received full particulars of the cases dealt with at Cardiff. We hope to publish a list of these cases, together with those dealt with at Carmarthen and Inverness, in next week's issue.

From Our Own Correspondent

SWANSEA.

SIXTEEN cases were dealt with by the South Wales Tribunal which met here on Thursday last.

Unconditional exemption was granted to three applicants; in six cases exemption was made conditional upon the applicants remaining in their present or similar employment for the next twelve months; four applicants were ordered to do six months' work at a civilian training centre as a condition of their exemption; and two applicants were placed upon the Military Training Register for non-combatant duties only; one case was adjourned.

Tribunal's Attitude

I speak for many others present when I say that it almost seemed that the decisions had been discussed beforehand.

On the other hand, there was an entire absence of questions designed to "catch" applicants.

The first applicant was supported by Mr. Ithel Davies, a barrister who is also a PPU member. A trade union official who supported two other applicants was also a PPU member.

A Ministry of Labour representative attended the Tribunal, to watch the proceedings and to assist on technical points if called upon.

In the public seats there were about 150 people—mainly pacifists.

It may be mentioned that when the barrister opened his statement on behalf of the PPU member with the words:

"This young man's objection goes beyond that of merely being trained under military supervision and authority; if you are satisfied that

this is so, then he is entitled to be unconditionally registered as a conscientious objector," the chairman interjected—"Oh, no."

There were murmurs of disapproval when a member of the Tribunal, during the hearing of another case, said:

"Being a member of a Church means being a good citizen, doesn't it? I am myself an elder of the Calvinistic Methodist Church, and as I interpret Christianity it means doing good for one's fellows. A good Calvinistic Methodist, to be a good Christian, must do all he can for his fellow-men."

List of Cases

The following were placed on the Register of Conscientious Objectors unconditionally:

GEORGE E. JOHN, apprentice to pharmaceutical chemist.

CHARLES LEVY, religious student at Bible College of Wales.

LUTHER PHILLIPS, painter.

The following were placed on the Register of Conscientious Objectors on condition they remained in their present or similar employment for the next twelve months:

LUTHER MORGAN, steel worker.

PERCIVAL REGINALD SANDERS, market gardener.

ALEXANDER WILLIAMS, steel worker.

EMRYS EVANS, collier's assistant.

LAURENCE O'NEILL, steel worker.

DAVID THOMAS, steel worker.

The following were placed on the Register of Conscientious Objectors on condition that during the next twelve months they did six months' work at a training centre as prescribed by the Ministry of Labour:

VICTOR FREDERICK RUSSELL, railway engine cleaner.

WILLIAM THOMAS LATHAM, railway porter.

DAVID RICHARD BEVAN, tinplate worker.

GWILYM JONES, collier.

The following were placed on the Military Training Register for non-combatant duties only:

JOHN ROWLAND PRICE EVANS.

WILLIAM JOHN GOUGH, tester in chemical laboratories.

BOOKS

Feeding the Monster

By WILFRED WELLOCK

Germany Pushes West. By Dr. Gerhard Schacher. Hurst & Blackett, 10s. 6d.

THERE is always a danger in dealing with monsters: they are so abnormal that they sometimes thrive on what was intended to poison them. They emerge as the result of a terrific struggle for existence; but they devour so much that they die in the end either from starvation or indigestion.

Germany Pushes West is the sequel to *Germany Pushes South-East*, by the same author. The prophecies contained in the earlier volume have already been fulfilled; will those contained in the new volume also be vindicated by events? I am inclined to believe they will.

The Result of Munich

Dr. Schacher wastes no time over the German conquest of Central and S.E. Europe. Germany's economic and political hold upon this area, as the result of the Munich Agreement, is so complete as to remove all doubt as to her ability to annex it, economically if not territorially.

As the result of "Munich," Germany is unquestionably the paramount Power in the vast region which lies between the Rhine and the Black Sea. Indeed Dr. Schacher holds the view that "Munich" constitutes one of the major turning points in world history. It immediately changed fundamentally international relations, and the outlook of every State, from end to end of Europe. It destroyed the Balance of Power, converted France into a second, if not third-rate Power, transferred the control of events from Britain to Germany, and made Germany a present of S.E. Europe. In addition it so completely undermined the confidence of all the smaller States of Europe, including the democracies of the North-West, in Britain and France, that they no longer dare base their policies on reliance upon those Powers, but feel compelled to think in terms of bargain making with Germany. It is not too much to say that Munich is the pivot on which this book turns. The word appears on almost every page.

The German conquest of S.E. Europe now being assured, the Nazi leaders are free to turn their minds in other directions, and according to Dr. Schacher their

next expansionist campaign is to take place in the West. In this campaign Germany will endeavour to recover the territory taken from her by the Treaty of Versailles: Eupen-Malmedy ceded to Belgium, North Schleswig ceded to Denmark, and Alsace-Lorraine—but also the Dutch Province of Limburg and the German Cantons of Switzerland.

The author describes the campaign of propaganda on behalf of these various objectives, which already is in full swing. The evidence adduced is ample and convincing, while the loss of faith in Britain and France, already mentioned, together with the fact that one or several Fascist organizations, some of them very powerful, now operate in each of the countries mentioned, supports the view that in case of a major crisis in Europe, the attitude of the democracies of N.W. Europe would be very different from what it was in 1914, and might well be strongly favourable to their trying to reach an understanding with Germany.

A Grim Outlook

Should events move in that way, it would have the effect of still further isolating and weakening France, who, in any future war would have to defend her Italian and Spanish frontiers in addition to her 1914 responsibilities, while the control of the Mediterranean by the Fascist Powers would open her southern coast to attack and at the same time prevent her from importing coloured troops from N. Africa.

This realistic picture offers a grim outlook on the future of Europe. It is our duty to face it, however, and to give serious consideration to the problems which it exposes. Dr. Schacher reaches the conclusion—usual in these anti-Hitler books—that the one hope of saving democracy is in the vigorous pursuit of Collective Security, the creation of a powerful military Alliance, which of necessity must include Russia.

But what hope can there be in this entirely negative policy? The question of world economic reconstruction, of the economic injustice which in any circumstances will continue to tear the world in twain, is not even mentioned. A fierce struggle in the building up of rival military systems can have no other ending than war; while war will be followed by Totalitarianism in every country which participates in it.

Only Hope of Salvation

I agree with Dr. Schacher that the present policy of Britain and France is leading towards a Fascist Europe, but surely the hope of salvation lies in some kind of creative activity. Seven years of negotiation and piling up of armaments have driven the nations into a state of semi-hysteria.

The way of escape from that condition surely cannot lie in further increases of military power, but rather in a boldly conceived constructive policy, sponsored by some act of manifest material sacrifice, and the complete repudiation of the war system, backed up by definite measures of disarmament. The manifestation of courageous moral action in defence of human rights would be instinctively hailed by mankind everywhere as the one hope of saving democracy and civilization.

The brutal conquest of territories, the suppression of human rights and the moral enslavement of peoples inspire universal revolt and cannot endure, but they cannot be ended by nations and Governments which are responsible for imperialist domination and economic monopoly. Hitler, after all, is more an effect than a cause. Hence the road to a new world must start in the British Empire and not in Berlin, nor in the military defeat of Hitler.

The breakdown of Capitalism is at root a moral breakdown. Armaments are only necessary because the iniquities of a social system founded on the rights of financial power still remain, here as well as in Germany, and because the desire for justice and freedom is not the paramount desire of our entire nation, even today.

Therefore, once again I am able to commend an anti-Nazi book for its capable analysis and its recital of important facts, while yet strongly disagreeing with its proposed remedy for the evil that after all is only partially exposed.

* This review was written before the latest crisis arose

A Champion of Democracy

By Prof. G. E. G. CATLIN

Thomas Jefferson: Democracy. Edited by S. K. Padover, Appleton-Century Co. 10s. 6d.

ONE of the most considerable of political philosophers and one of the most doughty of the champions of democracy that ever wrote in the English tongue is comparatively unknown in England. One explanation of this is that Jefferson never brought his thoughts together within the limits of any connected treatise or single volume. They lie scattered throughout his letters. This task of condensation Dr. Padover has performed and the result is something of first-rate importance.

Jefferson was always a challenging writer. "The press is the only tocsin of a nation." Not that Jefferson did not suffer the extremes of abuse from that press. "Perhaps an editor might begin a reformation in some such way as this. Divide his paper into four chapters, heading the first, 'Truths'; second, 'Probabilities'; third, 'Possibilities'; and the fourth, 'Lies.' The first chapter would be very short." And again, "never was so much false arithmetic employed on any subject, as that which has been employed to persuade nations that it is their interest to go to war."

Only Hope of Freedom

Anyone who wishes to understand the depth of American isolation as a sentiment and more than a calculation will do well to read Jefferson, with his passionate belief that a land of freedom could only remain such if it remained detached from Europe with its historic legacy of struggles for power and its "nations of perpetual war."

It will be noted that, logically, Jefferson has no especial enthusiasm for free trade between heterogeneous social systems, although he is in favour well enough of Federal Union as between the American Colonies. He counsels the Monroe Doctrine as touching the Spanish provinces, newly declared independent (there is no parallel at all with the Baltic States today), as effective "to maintain peace on at least one Continent." . . . "kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe." "The Cannibals of Europe are going to eat one another again." America for Jefferson was the land of the great experiment, of freedom in at least one country.

A "Magnificent" Figure

Such phrases show Jefferson as a philosopher, having universal significance, and as far more than a mere American politician or even the third President. The advocate of religious toleration, the champion of slavery emancipation, the pioneer of education, the draftsman of the Declaration of Independence the sectary of Reason, Jefferson is one of the most magnificent figures in Anglo-Saxon history.

For the rest, "I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom." *Jefferson On Democracy* deserves many readers.

Letting By-Gones Be By-Gones

GRAVE errors of policy have been made by the National Government in the past, errors of policy which have contributed substantially to the seriousness of the present situation.

These errors cannot be minimized nor excused. But let no nation make the mistake of thinking that the profound criticism of this Government's past record in national and international affairs which Labour has made and still makes means a division in the ranks of Britain in the event of war.

There will be no such division.

—Daily Herald, August 24.

MY CRIME IS PACIFISM

says ex-Soldier Facing Trial

"AWAITING court-martial is an ex-serviceman who became a pacifist before he left the Army recently, and who has refused to obey an order to report for further military training."

This news appeared on the front page of our June 9 issue.

A fortnight later we reported that the matter had gone to the War Office for their decision, and that meanwhile the "calling-up" order had been deferred.

The ex-Serviceman was Mr. H. Daventry of Highgate, and we have just received a letter from him written from the Guard-room, 18th Battalion, The Rifle Brigade, Tidworth, Hants.

"Many readers," he writes, "wrote to me and expressed the hope that they might hear of my adventures through *Peace News*." He enclosed the following short article:

His Crime is Pacifism

For ten days I have been kept in a cell, waiting for a decision in regard to my "disposal" by the army authorities. My crime is that of Pacifism.

I am a soldier who served seven years with the regular army and who "changed his mind."

This seems an unbelievable thing to the military mind. I have done my utmost to convince that mind that I am sincere, in that I am not trying to be obstinate in perverse fun, that I am not trying to escape from fighting because I am "yellow," and that I will not change my mind at the last moment.

I am well aware of the fact that everyone has a psychological urge to be in the lime-light, an inkling even to be a martyr. I emphatically do not wish to be a martyr. I merely desire to remain sane.

As I sit here, glaring at a whitewashed wall I feel as if I would like to talk and talk and talk with somebody who understands just what I mean, and who can understand my view point. Not call me a "damned fool" and ask me whether I'd like to spend the rest of my life in prison.

"Very Grave" Position

I was spoken to very seriously the other day and told that, in the event of war, my position would be "very grave indeed." Who the devil cares about that? Everyone's position will be "very grave."

Until men refuse to rush out and get killed or maimed for a series of fallacies we will always have wars, and I have laid down my arms and refused to put on uniform again.

This is tremendous. It is unbelievable. For a man who has had seven years of military philosophy drummed into him to do such a thing is downright tommy rot.

All right.

An Incalculable Evil

These fellows who guard me. They are decent chaps. They allow me every privilege they can, but their minds cannot grasp the essential fact that they are living an incalculable evil. They cannot realize that the most definite and important strategical act of modern warfare is to bomb the civil population. They cannot see that before the two opposing armies have come within a hundred miles of each other, before the two navies have sighted each other, the loved ones they have gone out to protect are being cruelly and horribly bombed.

It is said that a madman always thinks that everybody else is mad. Very well, then I must be insane for I believe the world to be mad. Flags, gibbering slogans, "liberty," "honour"—what are these things to a mother with a shattered baby?

Yet liberty and honour can be preserved without war. I am not mad.

The Dachshund

"MAY I, through your columns, appeal to caricaturists and humorous writers to suspend during the present crisis the practice of making the dachshund a symbol of Nazidom or of the German nation? Absurd as it may seem, the prevalence of this idea in the popular imagination has produced a real risk of thoughtless acts of cruelty being committed against harmless little animals which are English by birth and often by generations of breeding."

—A letter to *The Times* on Tuesday.

A Good Shillingsworth

Skeleton of the Empire. By Leonard Barnes. "Fact" No. 3.**Why Pacifists Should be Socialists.** By George Lansbury. "Fact" No. 7.**Japan's War on China.** By A. Morgan Young. "Fact" No. 9.**What's Up in Palestine.** By Michael Greenberg. "Fact" No. 20.

PACIFISTS who failed to get these issues of "Fact" when they were published should not miss the bargain offered by the PPU.

Leonard Barnes needs no introduction to the student of imperialism. *Skeleton of Empire* gives the facts you need to answer those who think British rule is really a blessing to the native: facts about the terrible poverty of the Indian masses; about the exploitation of the African native and the disintegration of his tribal life; and so on.

George Lansbury shows us the system behind the terrible pictures painted by Leonard Barnes (not that Mr. Barnes himself ignores it.) Mr. Lansbury, however, shows how war is a logical product of capitalism and imperialism. Pacifists cannot therefore, treat their faith as having only individualistic implications. They must work to establish a system from which the economic causes of war will be absent.

The third booklet, *Japan's War on China*, deals with a new, and more aggressive, form of imperialism at work in the Far East.

The factual aspect is again well to the fore in this work and in Michael Greenberg's examination of the Palestine problem, in which he suggests that Arab-Jewish rapprochement offers the only hope of a peaceful solution.

These four publications are obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, price 4d. each or four for 1s., post free.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We have space for only a few of the letters we receive.
Other things being equal, letters of about 200 words
stand the best chance of publication.

Why Do People Hate Hitler?

I SHOULD like, if I may, to make a few comments on Mr. Harold Bing's article last week on psychology and war.

First, I am sure that, since he says he has lately met a number of people who "desire war," he must have done so (unless he misread their desires), but his experience is oddly different from mine.

I have heard very many people, of all kinds and classes, talking lately about war, but not one who regarded it with anything but dread and dislike. The comments in the street are, "Looks rather bad tonight, doesn't it?" or "Looks a bit better, I think. Think it'll blow over?" "Oh yes, I think it'll be all right," or (more rarely) "I'm afraid we're for it now."

I have met no hysteria, and even more certainly, no desire for war; indeed, the very words as one writes them look fantastic. People don't want a war; they want to get on in peace with the business of living, and not to be bothered.

If my experience is true, then Mr. Bing's psychological speculations are irrelevant; if, on the other hand, he is right, then I think we should have to go deeper than he attempts to do to explain such abnormal and crazy psychology.

Secondly, hatred of Hitler. This, or anyhow dislike, contempt and irritation (as a charwoman remarked, "He's such a fidget, isn't he?"), is certainly wide-spread. Mr. Bing, rather staggeringly, asks why. "They have never met him... they know very little about him at all." If we had met him, and disliked him for his face and manners, that would be a poor reason indeed; he might be an excellent, if unpleasant, man.

But as to "knowing very little about him," I hope Mr. Bing will forgive me if I say that this is really pure nonsense. If he really wants to know why we dislike Herr Hitler, I can tell him. It is because we have before us the system of tyranny, violence and injustice that he has devised and enforces wherever he rules.

If Mr. Bing says we have invented or imagined

this, I can only refer him to the official edicts and official Press of the Reich Government and the Nazi party, both in Germany and in what was free Czecho-Slovakia; to the testimony of responsible and truthful men and women who have been witnesses of the vile cruelties which have been practised and are now being practised on the unfortunates whom the Nazi régime has decided to persecute—Jews, democrats, liberals, socialists, pacifists, churchmen, and ordinary citizens who have dropped a chance complaint of, or just about, the régime; to the doctors here who have seen the awful scars left on the bodies and minds of those refugees who have been in concentration camps; to almost any well-informed German now safely out of Germany. Are all these people lying? If so, why?

Why deny or minimize these terrible things? What purpose does it serve? And are they not reason enough for disliking the Nazi system and the man who created it? We dislike Herr Hitler because of these cruelties, these injustices, because of his Gestapo, his espionage system, his lying and his cynical pledge-breaking, his militarism, his professed ambition to annex or dominate other countries and races, his quite horrible philosophy of hate and scorn. Is such dislike irrational, merely because we have not met in person?

Mr. Bing says he is "just a bogey, just a name, round which centres a lot of suppressed hatred"—a hatred probably due, he thinks, to some infantile fury against a thwarting parent. Really, these psychologists!

Hitler is not "just a name," but a personality which has expressed itself in Europe with remarkable thoroughness and energy; such hatred as is felt for him is not, so far as I have noticed, particularly "suppressed"; and I doubt if he reminds many people of their fathers. Cannot we be allowed to look at actions and dislike their author, without being told that we are victims of some infantile frustration?

Let us be clear-headed and face facts. Attempts to gloss over the evils of the Nazi régime and blame those who hate it are driving some members of the PPU out of it in search of a pacifism better informed, more adult, not built on ignorance of facts and what Mr. A. W. Rathen, in an admirable letter this week calls "wishful thinking." As Mr. Rathen says:

"How can we hope to win intelligent people by such arguments? We cannot hoodwink them. They know what German concentration camps mean, the methods of the Gestapo, the consequences of a Hitler invasion. They know what the Nazi creed implies for those who live under its sway. Why, then, make ourselves and our cause ridiculous by pretending that the totalitarian creed is not a menace to civilization?"

To face these things need not weaken our pacifism. Indeed, without facing them, it seems to me that our pacifism must be a false and weak and sentimental business, with foundations in sand. War is ghastly and intolerable; so is the Nazi system. To hate the one should not make us hate the other any less.

ROSE MACAULAY.

International Fellowship

The first sittings of Tribunals are giving us a glimpse of the courage and the deep conviction demanded of those who stand firm. Thus at a stroke we are being brought into a sensitive fellowship with those continental war resisters who are suffering imprisonment. Our link with them through the War Resisters' International becomes more than formal.

The appeal for a personal human community within the International, made by a German at the last WRI conference, stands out as more compelling than ever. He said: "Recognising quite clearly that the absolute loneliness of the individual conscience is the way to our complete solidarity, we also know that we must break through this solitude... I would urge upon you to think of the lonely ones facing the inconceivable, daily, the inner and the outer struggle of asking himself, 'Can I still do this, or can I go on no longer.'"

His moving words help one to imagine the tremendous uplift that may come from a simple letter of encouragement. Henri Roser has testified to the great happiness they bring to the conscience-convinced. I would like to share two replies received from French CO's imprisoned in Paris. One, an author, says: "It is sweet and comforting to realize that beyond seas, tongues, hearts and reason, men are the same. Our communion of heart and of spirit is that we work all for life and never for death. In the struggle for life nobody is of greater or less value than any one else."

The other was disinherited by a rich father 28 years ago, and suffered 3 years' imprisonment during the War. "Draw attention to your country, English comrade, to compulsory military service because it will be in England as in France, where we who mould in the cells of democracy have not the right to say to the assassins, that they are assassins. Conscripted is a sign of the coming tyranny, that will take a man from wife and children, and leave him without work afterwards. Do you know, English people, that one has to accept killing to have the right to live, that it is a crime to want ploughs to till the land in place of rifles to kill one's fellows? It is a great pleasure to see an English comrade who thinks of his brother of ideals in prison."

With such men it is an honour and an enrichment to be in contact; but we who are free and convinced should do no less than be at the side of all those who feel the pressure of militarist tyranny. It is an expense of spirit that blesses him that gives and him that receives.

LEONARD READ.

Basque House, Langham, Colchester.

"The Dancing Years"

A play like *The Dancing Years*, which is delightfully packed houses at the Drury Lane Theatre, has a very uplifting influence in these difficult days. Those are inspired words used by Ivor Novello in his speech at the conclusion of the play.

"We have been able to show you something that we believe, and something that there is, perhaps, in this play, and that is that music and friendliness will always in the end rise superior to stupid things like hatred and aggression."

EDITH F. HERBERT (Miss).

New Balderton, Newark, Notts.

The Crisis: A Call to Action for Pacifists

MIGHT I implore, through your columns, that every Peace Pledge Union group in the country should muster all the speaking talent it has, and as soon as possible organize public out-door meetings in its own town or city, to warn people that war solves nothing and to declare our pacifist witness and solution. In the crisis of last September we were badly caught napping. Let us not repeat that mistake. "Once bitten, twice shy."

C. I. OATEN.

Walnut Tree Cottage,
Little Marlow, Bucks.

Can't something be done to prevent this country from going to war? Surely there are a good percentage of sane people left, not to mention Christians?

The moment I saw that we were being urged to prepare ourselves, I knew that sooner or later, it meant we should have to put our training into practice. What use is there in having an efficient army, if they are not allowed to show what their training has done for them?

What I can't understand is why the people of this country, have allowed themselves to be fooled by being told that arming was only a means of preserving Peace! Does one hold out the right hand of friendship to another man, whilst clutching a revolver in the other hand?

It is 1914 repeating itself, and most of those who went through the last war, appear to have learnt nothing from its lesson. Not one good result came from that last senseless murder of humanity; and we know now, that future wars will be infinitely worse, with infinitely worse results, yet still we are being led away by talks of helping smaller countries, just as we were in 1914.

Let us at least be honest with ourselves, do we, as a nation, care so much about foreigners, as to risk our all for them; or is it the fear of losing our possessions, our colonies, which is at the root of the trouble, and for fear of losing power and possessions, we are willing to start a war which will be the ruin of civilization.

Are there no sane people left to stand up and stop this madness before it is too late?

ELAINE CONINGSBY.

17 Church Lane, S.W.19.

Another "September Crisis" has begun, this time while its still August. The daily press once more is publishing one-sided news and partial "facts" concerning the latest quarrel between imperialist interests. The picture papers print, "sob-stuff" pictures of the unthinking masses who wait at these times in Downing Street and outside Government offices—"anxious watchers" is the technical expression—like sheep being led to the slaughter, while their alleged "representatives" hurry to and fro arranging those final decisions which once more will decide whether the mass of ordinary people shall be allowed to go on living for a little while longer, or whether rival imperialist Hitler's ambitions have at last become too great a menace to the imperialists and ruling classes of the Western so-called "democracies" to be acceded to further, in which case war will have become "necessary," and all of us who don't think for ourselves will docilely and dutifully obey the command to slaughter and be slaughtered in a quarrel not our own.

The same thing, at least in principle, is happening in Berlin, Rome, Paris (where—officially—"complete calm prevails") and in all the interested capitals, towns, villages and hamlets of Europe.

One day (how much longer will it be deferred? Until after yet another mass-murder campaign to "save" something-or-other?) the mass of peace-desiring people will realize their own irresistible strength, will demand of their rulers a peaceful solution to all international problems, and if their demand should ever be refused, will remove their Governments and put in their place governments pledged to fulfil the wishes of this vast majority of humankind.

At present it is tragically true that "the people" in every country persist in the illusion that governments are "theirs," that inter-governmental disputes are their disputes, and that those governments must be "loyally supported" in the sacred name of "national unity," which means surrendering their claim to be creatures of reason and putting themselves on the mental level of ants.

T. J. E. WARBURTON.

Warrior House Hotel,
St. Leonards/Sea, Sussex.

Your front-page headline this week "Must His Son Die at Poland's Call" is, I think, a most mistaken expression of pacifism.

Is not the real argument "Must His Son KILL at Poland's Call?"

(Rev.) R. LEMMAN.

4, Victoria Road,
Botcherby, Carlisle.

Conveying our Message

I do not feel that those who advocate direct action in various forms are working along the right lines. Such tactics savour of militancy, and a militant pacifist is surely a strange being. In our methods of conveying our message we must remember what is implicit in that message—the spirit of universal brotherhood and good will to all men, even though their ways may not be our ways, and even though we may be persecuted in many ways, great and small.

I am concerned when I read in *Peace News* of a conscientious objector who refused to minister to the wounded because they might afterwards return to the shambles and kill more men. It will not be part of our duty in wartime to constitute ourselves into a court of justice on our fellow-men. If I see a wounded man before me, I believe it to be my place to give him all the assistance I can, without reference to what he had done, or what he may do.

It is neither moral nor expedient that we as pacifists should, Pilate-like, wash our hands of the consequences of war. We must, by publishing the truth, do our utmost to prevent war, but if it comes we shall do most good to our cause by winning the respect of the majority for our singleness of mind, our human sympathy, and our willingness to help those who are suffering.

We can only abolish war by removing hatred from the world, and the task is patently beyond us unless we can free ourselves from all malice.

THOMAS WYATT.

50 Parkway, Welwyn Garden City, Herts

A Suggestion to Women

As you already have a large following of people who know the futility of war, and who are doing what they can to prevent the crime of mass slaughter taking place, I put forward the following suggestion to be taken up at once—particularly by the women of the country.

The women of all classes, races, and creeds to form into a procession and walk to Broadcasting House, and there to demand that their representatives be allowed to speak in German to German women, in Italian to Italian women, to English women, and so on throughout Europe.

The subject would be that as mothers they are not going to have their folk killed for useless purposes, and to urge women of all nations to join in the movement.

Women who can speak must be found, but I believe by getting women away from the trap of acquiescence to the ostensible reason for warlike action leading, to destruction of our races, to the function of women as child bearers and preservers of the race, you will be striking a chord in their beings which may yet prevent a world calamity.

I put this to you as a suggestion I heard recently. Can you do anything about it?

R. GAUDIN.

57c Linden Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, W.2.

Jesus and Buddha

I wonder what warrant R. H. Thouless has for his statement that "The world is ripe for a religious teacher who will teach with the simplicity and directness of Jesus and the Buddha the old message that men must renounce the desire to dominate over other men."

Is it not rather more true to say that the world today is in a transition stage, and that if it does not listen to the true disciples of those two great religious leaders, Sheppard, Lansbury and Gandhi, and others one might mention, Western civilization with its great empires will go the same way as all other great civilizations have gone who refused to listen to the voice of their Ambassadors of God, for that is what I feel these men to be? The teachers are here with us today; will men be wise enough to follow them?

N. MACKENZIE.

43 Devon Road, Watford, Herts.

REPLIES TO ETHEL MANNIN

MISS MANNIN'S articles in the "Speaking Personally" series created such a storm of apprehension and protest that I decided to read them again to make sure I had not mis-read them.

Miss Mannin has been accused of:

1. Anti-Semitism;
2. Fascist sympathies; and
3. A vigour of writing hardly pacifist.

May I place myself with the minority who could find no trace of these tendencies in Miss Mannin's work?

A. B. WILLIAMSON.

"Bryn Hyfryd," Heanor Road, Smalley,
near Derby.

I have much sympathy with Ethel Mannin's argument that the pacifist must not shut himself up in his "ivory tower." But I am not at all impressed by her demand that he shall take an active part in contemporary politics.

In my view, all existing political parties are leading the masses along convergent roads to ruin. Politics is not simply, as Miss Mannin asserts, "the conduct of human affairs." It is essentially and practically the struggle for State-Power in a civilization so supercharged with aggressive energy as to ensure that the struggle is finally waged with lethal weapons.

Likewise the struggle for power stimulates and sharpens the aggressive instincts on which it depends until the unconscious sadism of civilised man turns into the murderous cruelty of Nazism and Stalinism. Marxist as well as Fascist philosophy conduces to this apparently inevitable end.

I believe that pacifists should recognize the "permanent violence of capitalism" without identifying themselves with the non-pacifist revolutionary struggle which demonstrably leads to a destruction of all their hopes and values.

I believe that pacifists are right, in the circumstances of today, to stress, above all, individual values and loyalties as against merely political activities and judgments.

Collectivism has failed us. Socialist politics are bankrupt. Mass enthusiasms, as Bertrand

Russell points out, lead to "fierceness, war, death and slavery." Our political gods have turned into devils.

I would be grateful to Ethel Mannin if she would say precisely how and where pacifists should engage in the political struggle; if she can conceive of a political party which will not be a competing unit in the contemporary struggle for Power; if such a party exists or can be created; and, if the answer is in the negative, what honest justification remains for the realistic pacifist to play the political game at all.

ROBERT M. ENTWISTLE.

25 Stoneyfields Lane, Edgware, Middx.

Who told Ethel Mannin that pacifists were "not co-operating in the revolutionary struggle for a better and safer world"? I think it possible they are doing this even though they be of the type which professes lack of interest in politics, class-war, and what not—Pathifists, as she calls them.

Miss Mannin avows her preference for the pacifist (!) who would be willing to go to the barricades in order to smash the system that breeds war; the pacifist who knows his Bart de Ligt. But does Miss Mannin know her Bart de Ligt? Here are two extracts from his *Conquest of Violence*.

"The violence and warfare which are characteristic of the imperialistic world do not go with the liberation of society, which is the historic mission of the exploited classes."

"The anti-war struggle must be a non-violent, economic, moral and cultural struggle, waged by the people themselves: a part, secondary though important, of a far wider struggle—that for social liberty and justice."

This supports, no doubt, Miss Mannin's urgings that we are, or need to be, concerned with politics, but I do wish she had not commenced talking about going to the barricades as a result. An hysterical rushing to the barricades would not be evidence of that "thinking" for which she pleads, but rather of that sentimentalism which she condemns. Thinkers like Bart de Ligt appear to be realizing that revolution can be—must be—effected more sensibly in other ways.

A. OXFORD.

187 Hawes Lane, West Wickham, Kent.

"IT'S UP TO US!"

... writes **JOHN BARCLAY**
before returning to the fray

WRITING notes 6 days before they are to appear in print is a difficult business—or would be if one thought too much about consequences.

My holiday will be over when you read these lines but at the moment I am facing a setting sun over a sea shot with silver and blue, indescribably lovely after a day of peaceful happenings. No newspaper has come our way and until later tonight we shall have no word of events in Europe during the last 24 hours.

My mind is at rest and I do not believe that anything can happen between now and next Saturday to change the reality of what I am about to write.

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

War is unthinkable to a normal human being. It is contrary to our common decency.

If we allow ourselves to be caught up by its gross bestiality we are acting so contrary to our human instincts that we cease to be either normal or human. Discussion as to the democratic

or fascist leadership of any war-party is idle—the war itself takes control and deprives any leaders of personal power.

Because there are enough men and women in Europe today who remember the futile suffering caused by the last war, and because there is now a pacifist core capable of becoming the centre of the resistance springing from this memory, and because, too, a growing number of national leaders have seen that there is no future unless war is abolished, I am convinced that we have seen the last of major wars.

It is therefore a time for renewed optimism and hope—a time for great faith in human beings. We should do all we can to encourage the faint hearts and by cheerfully assuming the leadership of public opinion demonstrate the very possibilities that we so daringly utter.

Who, then, is prepared to follow a lead of pure faith? It will be opposed by the cautious and the practical. But of one thing I am sure—there is no way out along the lines of quiet seclusion. I shall come back from my remote beach freed from cobwebs and burnt by the sun—some of the warmth of that sun having entered the cockles of my heart.

The Jersey group of the PPU met last Wednesday (Aug. 23) and it was decided to hold a public meeting in St. Helier during the coming week.

I hope to be one of the speakers and shall feel my holiday is merging with my re-entry into the next phase if we succeed in holding a crowd to listen to our pacifist message.

THE LINK

The following gummed slip is being printed by the Peace Pledge Union for insertion inside copies of the *Peace Service Handbook*.

The Link

In view of the recent allegations against The Link, the PPU desires to point out that it has no connexion with that organization.

The Link is referred to in the *Handbook* only as a possible medium of contacting German opinion.

The Basque Children A SMALLER COLONY?

By Theo Wills

WE hope to found, as Mrs. Plowman explained recently in this column, when this larger Basque House closes at the end of September, if not earlier, a smaller colony in another House.

We do not propose to do this just for fun. There is a group of from six to ten of our children for whom it is very desirable that such a colony should exist.

Of really bad children, if such there are, we have had none at Basque House. But we have had "difficult" children, most of whom were sent from other colonies which found them unmanageable.

The worst was a boy who was said to have stolen considerable sums and to have set his colony building on fire. The difficulty of the others was of quite a different type, but with us, as much as a result of good fortune as of skill, they and he have been happy and proper members of the family. The little "criminal" indulged in nothing worse than a few boyish pilferings.

We are satisfied we can "handle" these children, and, until they can return to their country or other prospects open, hope to preserve the environment which has so suited them.

Both for the children who are exceptionally backward and for the very young, it is important that they should remain in contact with their Spanish teachers.

We have had splendid results to previous appeals. The story of all the allocations in families and jobs which we have effected would fill several articles. And, very splendid indeed, in response to Mrs. Plowman's article, we have had the offer of two promising houses. Our most cordial thanks again to all who have helped in these ways!

In the new colony the children would be kept as economically as is possible anywhere. There would be no rent and no rates. The requisite staff has offered its services without remuneration. We reckon, at a safe estimate, to be able to run the colony for probably some 10 children and their staff for from £6 to £7 per week.

We can only found the new colony if sufficient support is promised. Can you help us? If you were supporting a child who has returned to Spain, could you promise to maintain your subscription or at least a proportion of it? New adoptive parents at even only two or three shillings a week would be valuable! Please send your promise on a card, as we must make the vital decision immediately.

This series is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our proteges at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

Don't Forget the Fighting Fund!

NOW, more than ever, it is essential that we should extend the influence of *Peace News* as widely as possible. Don't let crises make you forget our Fighting Fund, to which we are pleased to acknowledge the following further contributions:

	£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged ..	133	6	2½
"F" ..	0	3	6
M. Phelps, E.4 ..	0	2	6
J. Reynolds, London ..	0	3	6
W. Danson ..	0	9	6
F. Todd, Cottingham ..	0	6	0
"Denro" ..	0	2	0
D. Boothman, Frodsham ..	0	5	0
T. Wadsworth, New Balderton ..	0	2	6
E. J. Taylor, Kettering ..	0	2	6
C. S. Moore, Forest Hill ..	0	5	0
H. Field, Gloucester ..	0	10	0
R. R. Hearn and Friends, Crayford ..	0	5	0

£137 3 2½

The Fighting Fund was launched to help to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's work the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. (This amounts to £750 for the current year.)

Donations of any size will be welcomed and acknowledged in *Peace News*. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to Peace News, Ltd.—and not the Peace Pledge Union—and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Mr. James Edgar

In connection with the report of the death of Mr. James Edgar, which appeared in our August 18 issue, we are now informed that he was not the founder of the Peace Pledge Union in Cornwall.

A group was formed in Penzance in December, 1936, and in March, 1937, David Spreckley from Headquarters visited Cornwall and saw signatories in St. Ives, Hayle and Helston.

When James Edgar, therefore, first made enquiries regarding the formation of a group in Redruth he was surprised to learn that there was already a PPU group in Penzance with thirty members.

Dick Sheppard Leaflets in Demand

Large numbers of "Dick Sheppard's Candid Letter" were distributed after the evening services at St. Martin's in the Fields and St. Paul's Cathedral last Sunday. At times there were batches of people waiting to obtain the leaflets.

What about India?

WHAT Great Britain calls in question is the right of any nation forcibly to suppress the independence of another.

—The Times, August 25.

The NOTICE BOARD

Items must be received by Monday.

MEETINGS

Hounslow group now meets every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in Tub Tree Cafe, Staines Road, Hounslow. Instead of in Beacon Cafe, as previously.

Ilford—Open-air meetings held every Saturday at 8.30 p.m. at corner of Wellesley Road and Cranbrook Road (near Ilford LNER station).

Finbury Park—Open-air meetings in the Park on Sundays at 11.30 a.m.

Cardiff—Open-air meeting in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff, every Sunday at 8 p.m. Group meetings every Tuesday evening at 43 Charles Street.

"PEACE NEWS" SELLERS WANTED

Birmingham—Another mass street selling tomorrow (Saturday) starting from Dick Sheppard House 36 Holloway Head (not St. Jude's) 2.45 to 4.30 p.m. Tea available about 5 p.m. (6d. each).

Edmonton—Mass selling tomorrow (Saturday) from 6.30 p.m. Meet outside Independent Church.

Volunteers wanted for selling at Charing Cross every Friday from 5 to 6.30 p.m. and **Queens Hall** from 6.45 to 8 p.m. Please notify Mr. Jack Reynolds, at City PPU, 13 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4.

Orpington—Every Saturday two members sell in Orpington High Street. Volunteers wanted Write W. G. Howard, 11 Willett Close, Petts Wood, Kent.

Leitchworth—Sellers wanted, Friday evenings, Saturday mornings, afternoons and evenings. Particulars from Miss Joan Edwards, 56 Norton Road.

POSTER PARADES

Deptford—Tomorrow (Saturday) leaving Gardiner's Corner at 7 p.m. Any volunteers, with posters, heartily welcomed. Particulars from W. S. Grindley, 5 Brockley View, S.E.23. An open-air meeting will be held at Gardiner's Corner after the parade, at about 8.30 p.m.

MISCELLANEOUS

Edinburgh change of address—From today (Friday) Edinburgh office will be 37 Chambers Street. Meetings will be held there every Thursday, 3 p.m.

Wanted—Typewriter urgently by Peckham group Dick Sheppard Centre, 158 Queen's Road, S.E.16. Phone: New Cross 3343.

What the Groups Are Doing

THE Loughborough group will hold a Mock Tribunal for its CO members on Friday, September 8, in the Unitarian Church Schoolroom, Victoria Street, at 8 p.m. It is hoped to include some anti-pacifists on the Tribunal.

A resolution was passed at a group meeting last week stating the members' conviction that "whatever the decisions arrived at at the conclusion of the present negotiations between this country, Germany, France, Russia and Poland, the position must not and does not warrant the un-leasing of the massed weapons of destruction now being prepared."

The resolution called upon the people of this country and of the Borough of Loughborough in particular "to demand of their appointed leaders in no uncertain voice that this country take the lead in placing before the world constructive proposals for the solving of these difficulties without resort to armed conflict."

Copies of the resolution have been sent to the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, the local MP and to all the National and local newspapers.

Derby's Increased Activity

THE active membership of the Derby group is growing and their study circles meetings are becoming more and more successful as the year advances. The study circle is held twice a month and efforts are made to get an "outsider" to give an informal talk to each meeting.

Between twenty and thirty people in Derby are interested in the Pacifist Service Corps and are willing to attend first aid classes. The organization of the classes is now in course of preparation and they will probably commence soon after the summer holidays are over.

It was decided at a recent business meeting to try out the Nottingham scheme. In all probability the scheme will be adopted but it will be first tested over an allotted area.

Peterborough Welcomes Tramp Preachers

THE Tramp Preachers were greeted with considerable enthusiasm in Peterborough. At one meeting they attracted a crowd of about 200 people which included a party of ARP wardens, the chief of whom tried unsuccessfully to drown Mr. Opie with cries of "Be Prepared."

Members of the PPU group there are anxious to arrange a return visit because they are convinced that the Tramp

Preachers are reaching a section of public opinion which is practically untouched by other forms of PPU propaganda.

Birmingham Mass Selling

AS a result of the successful mass selling of *Peace News* in Birmingham last Saturday it was decided to repeat the effort tomorrow (Saturday) afternoon.

After the selling last Saturday about twenty of the helpers gathered for tea at the Dick Sheppard House, 36 Holloway Head, the new Birmingham centre. Tomorrow's selling will start from there and not from St. Jude's Schools. For further information see "The Notice Board" on this page.

Mr. Hope Gill Ends His Yorkshire Tour

During the past fortnight C. W. Hope Gill has been concluding a tour of East Yorkshire, where, in addition to addressing public meetings, he has been able to take the initiative in forming several groups.

The PPU Centre in Hull, he reports, is a hive of activity, with great possibilities of extension, and there is an urgent need of volunteers willing to give time to it to help to make its influence even more widely felt.

While in Hull he attended an open-air meeting outside the Park, a meeting of young members (among them several COs), and a poster parade.

New groups have been formed at Goole and Beverley, and efforts have been started to get groups going in Selby and Driffield.

Mr. Hope Gill has also attended meetings at Cottingham, Hessle, Howden, Scarborough and neighbouring villages, Pickering and Harrogate.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

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Dates for Your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

BERMONDSEY; 8 p.m. Corner of Beatrice Road and Southwark Park Road; open-air meeting; Mr. Millman (Middlesex); PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Sybil Morrison on "Ourselves and Headquarters"; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

PPU Demonstration—See col. 3, this page.
CROYDON; 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; Open-air meeting; Rev. Pat Figgis; PPU.

Sunday, September 3

PPU Demonstration—See col. 3, this page.
HAMPSTEAD HEATH; 11 a.m. The White Stone Pond; open-air meeting; Andrew Stewart and William J. Millman; PPU.
PLYMOUTH; 8.15 p.m. The Guildhall; Miss M. Gamble, Rev. Don Robins and Stuart Morris (chairman); PPU.

Monday, September 4

BOURNEMOUTH; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Central group members' meeting; 8.15 p.m. Open meeting; PPU.

Tuesday, September 5

LONDON, E.C.4; 12.10 p.m. 13. Paternoster Row; Maurice Rowntree on "Thoughts on the Situation"; City PPU group.
TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; City PPU group.
LONDON, W.1; 7.45 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, King's Weigh House, Thomas Street; London Group Leaders' Meeting; PPU.

Wednesday, September 6

BRISTOL; 7.30 p.m. Knowle Park Congregational Church, Broad Walk; Walter G. May, A. H. Iveson and others on "How I Became a Pacifist"; chairman: Rev. F. M. Cooper; Council of Christian Pacifist Groups and PPU.
BOSCOMBE (Bournemouth); 8 p.m. Temperance Hall, Hoviland Road; M. Newman; PPU.
PECKHAM; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 158, Queen's Road; Howard Fox on "The Necessity of International Government"; PPU.

Thursday, September 7

LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13. Paternoster Row; Rev. Pat Figgis on "Christianity and the Crisis"; City PPU group.
LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13. Paternoster Row; H. C. Oakley on "Pacifism and the Teacher"; City PPU group.

Friday, September 8

BERMONDSEY; 8 p.m. Corner of Beatrice and Southwark Park Road; open-air meeting; John Barclay; PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; George Greer on "Why the IRA Outrages"; PPU.

Saturday, September 9

CROYDON; 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; John Barclay; PPU.
FOREST HILL; 8 p.m. St. Hilda's Hall, Courtrai Road, Brockley Road; dance in aid of Unemployed Families Adoption Fund; tickets (1s. 6d.) from PPU secretary, 15, Courtrai Road, S.E.23, or from PPU headquarters.

Sunday, September 10

HAMPSTEAD HEATH; 11 a.m. The White Stone Pond; open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison and George Piper; PPU.
WEMBLEY; 8 p.m. London Road (Woolworths); open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

The Only Victor

IF French and German blood shall flow again as it did 25 years ago, in a war still longer and more murderous, then both nations would fight confident of victory.

The real victor, however, would only be destruction and barbarity.

—M. Daladier, reported in the "Daily Telegraph," August 29.

Muddled?

"This Government is not concerned about liberty or freedom. If it were, it would have introduced conscription long ago."

—A Company Director on the New Zealand Government's Defence Policy.

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The Pacifist Stand in Parliament

(Continued from page 3)

Lord Ponsonby

the eve of another war, which would be vastly more devastating and vastly more horrible. That this should be the case seems to confirm the view that this world is the madhouse of the universe.

It is inconceivable that peace and good will, and the rule of law can come from the bombing and mass-murder and wounding of tens of millions of men, women and children, who really have no quarrel with each other.

The Government, in their statement on Tuesday, said that every question in Europe should be capable of peaceful solution, but that if force was used force would be resisted. What does that mean?

What "Force" Means

It means that tens of millions of men, women and children will be killed and wounded, and that in the end nothing will be settled. Nobody could really win the war, all the participants will be more or less vanquished, and after the war is over, and civilization has been shattered, there will not be peace but there will be new turmoils, new Hitlers, new Mussolinis, leading on to another war if there are enough people left to fight one.

Surely, all this is the bankruptcy of statesmanship, and surely something else can be done.

As I have said, the Government hold that there is no question which is not capable of a peaceful solution. The noble Viscount indicated that in his speech today, with regard to the Polish question, and Lord Snell pressed for further negotiations with regard to it.

I would like to ask the Government whether everything possible has been done to effect a peaceful solution with regard to Danzig, which is over 90 per cent German, and as regards the Corridor, with its difficulties for Germany?

Unwise Commitment

How much pressure have Great Britain and France put upon Poland to effect a settlement?

We gave the commitment to Poland—most unwisely, as I think, and as I said at the time in your Lordship's House. Surely, in all the circumstances, Great Britain and France have the right to urge that Poland should make a peaceful settlement. Poland is not likely to get better terms in the future than she will get now.

There are apart from Danzig and the Corridor, other questions, and His Majesty's Government should strive for a general European settlement, and should not be deterred by talk of Germany trying to dominate the world.

"Domination" Myth

How can Germany or any other country dominate the world? It means dominating the United States, South America, China, Russia, Spain and so on. How can Germany or any other country dominate even Europe, which means dominating Russia, Great Britain, France, Spain and so forth?

Of course, no country could possibly do it. I do not think we ought to allow our minds to be influenced, and our policy decided, by talk of this kind, which is far removed from reality or anything which could happen.

I would like finally to stress the vital point indicated by other speakers that no war is inevitable.

Last October, in a very important debate in this House, Lord Baldwin and Lord Samuel made eloquent speeches against the view of an inevitable war.

Lord Baldwin said that if there was only a 5 per cent chance of peace he would hold on to that until he died.

It has been pressed upon the Government, and I would like to do the same, that they ought to act upon that principle, and in doing so they will undoubtedly be interpreting the will of the people of this country. I am certain that it is their will.

If war should come, a war which will shatter European civilization and settle nothing, it will, I think, be known to history as "the crazy war."

It is not only the horrors of war (and we cannot tell what they may be), it is that terrible and worse danger—its futility, and the high-flown phrases that are used now will be lost sight of when the war is begun.

The objects will be entirely changed as the massacre continues, and we should end up perhaps by acquisitions of territory to the British Empire, which is already too large, and we shall think, in defeating Hitler and bringing him to his knees, that

we have won the war.

No, we did not win the War of 1914-18: nobody wins wars in these days. The massacre of tens of thousands of people in their own homes is not the method of winning any good.

The invasion of Belgium, of course, brought this country very much together, but Danzig is not the same thing, and I doubt the enthusiasm in this country on a question so remote from any of our interests or anything that concerns our real honour. We must interpret these matters of international honour rightly.

I am very sorry that the Government ever renounced their first policy of negotiation, fail as it might time after time. I believe, in the long run, you can reach success that way and that way only. Around the council table alone is there any hope of a solution of these problems.

I think our gratitude—and I feel more really anxious to express this than anything else on a day like this—is due to the King of the Belgians for having initiated a move by the smaller countries in favour of peace—those small countries that are highly civilized and not less important in the world than any of the big Empires.

Let us listen to their voice, and, if we speak reason, in time Herr Hitler will listen.

THE CRISIS

P.P.U. Plans Demonstrations

IN view of the international situation the Peace Pledge Union have made the following arrangements:

Demonstrations will be held in London on Saturday and Sunday, in each case meeting at Peace Pledge Union headquarters, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, at 6 p.m.

On Saturday there will be a poster parade with special posters and manifestoes, leaving about 6.30 p.m., and a meeting in Kingsway Hall at 8 p.m. for counsel and encouragement.

On Sunday there will be a walk in silence, starting about 6.30 p.m., without posters, banners or literature, to Hyde Park. About 7.30 p.m. there will be a silent meeting as an "act of public repentance and preparation for better things."

Further particulars from PPU headquarters.

PASSING THE BUCK

THE anxious attention of the world is now focused on one man—Adolf Hitler, now in Berlin. On him alone rests the terrible responsibility of deciding the issue of peace or war in Europe.

—Daily Mail, August 25.

This issue of peace or war does not rest with us . . .

Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons, August 24.

Just what M. Daladier, President Mosicki and Herr Hitler are saying!

It is assuredly not the French or ourselves who need persuasion in the ways of peace, nor is it our fault that today we have to reckon with the worst that may befall . . .

—Daily Telegraph, August 25.

THE appeals made by President Roosevelt, the Pope, and the smaller nations of Europe, powerful auxiliaries of the Peace Front . . . it is significant . . . are addressing their appeals almost wholly to the dictator States. The world knows it is from them and never from this side that the threat of war comes.

—Daily Mail, August 26.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

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CUT OUT FOR RETURNS

No. 168

1.9.39

The Worker, The Statesman and Two Kinds of Crisis

CARTOON

By J. C. WALKER

IT'S AN OLD BRITISH CUSTOM



The National Council of Labour has decided to stand steadfast behind Britain's obligations.

From the South Wales Echo

From the South Wales Echo
"Hitler has brought our people together with a common purpose. He has ended political strife. He has settled the Railway Strike."
—Daily Express, August 26.

—Daily Express,
August 26.

DURING the past few days it has looked as though we plain men were coming into our own again. We seem to be most important when there's a war to be fought. From the newspapers it is quite obvious that the power-that-be want us to be ready for war—though, right up to the last minute, they have been leaving us in the dark.

Messages passed between our politicians and the rulers of other countries—but we were not told what they said. And when the newspapers did publish versions of one of those messages, the Government merely said that they were quite inaccurate—and left us just as much in the dark as before.

Our rulers can't complain that their hands have been tied. But if, having left things to those who are supposed to know best, they fail to prevent war, what then?

The plain men (and women) will be expected to pay the price. The plain men in another country will be presented as our mortal enemies. In defence of democracy, the rule of law, and all the rest of it, we shall be expected to fight, or at any rate to help the war along.

For fear that we might refuse, the propaganda has started. All the same, I don't intend to be caught: I won't fight.

I believe that if everyone said the same, there could be no war. My reasons? Here they are:

1. War is wrong ;
 2. War is futile ;
 3. To refuse to take part in it is one way of helping to build a warless world.
- Let us take them one at a time.

1. I don't think there would be much argument about the evil of war.

The trouble is that people accept it because they think it is a necessary evil, or because they think a war of "defence" is better than a war of aggression.

We shall see in a minute whether war is a necessary evil, but I think the "defence" idea needs exposing.

Every war, of course, is called a war of

defence—on both sides. And today, as Lord Baldwin has said, the best defence is offence—that is, killing the enemy's women and children more quickly than he can kill yours.

But it doesn't matter to the victims of an air raid whether the bombs were dropped (in theory) in defence or as an act of aggression. They're just as dead in either case.

And in any case the only nation which would really have the right to blame aggressors would be one which had taken every possible step to remove the causes of aggression. So far as I know, such a nation of angels does not exist at present.

2. As to the futility of war—why, Mr. Chamberlain himself is among those who have pointed to it.

Here are a few signs of it: Hitler and all he stands for are partly a result of the last war. The Danzig dispute itself goes back to the treaty which was made at the end of that war.

It is commonplace to say that each war sows the seeds of the next. But it can't be repeated too often just now.

Or do you think that another war would be a war to end all war? If so, just remember that *that* was also supposed to be one of the objects of the Great War. So was the crushing of German militarism.

Need I go on? I think not.

But perhaps you admit all this but think we must defend our freedom. Yet last week you already started to lose your freedom—in the very act of preparing to defend it. The orders the Government has issued under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act are just a sample of what we can expect if we allow this country to be drawn into war.

I think it's pretty clear that the only peace you can expect after another European conflict would be the lifeless peace of the cemetery—or the sinister quietness

WHY I WON'T FIGHT

By the Plain Man

of a concentration camp. A Europe which was a vast cemetery or concentration camp would be even worse than the Europe of today.

Which brings me to the last point.

3. HERE we come to the crux of the whole business.

Our civilization is faced with this big problem: how can we end the division of the world into separate States, each one a law unto itself? For our progress in some directions makes it urgently necessary that we should plan the world as a whole. The nation as we know it is out of date.

In other words, we've been pretty clever where scientific inventions are concerned—so clever that the world is "smaller" than ever before, and we have the machinery to turn out an abundance of the things we need. But for all that, the world's political arrangements are very much what they were in Victorian times. The

old traditions hang on long after they ought to have been scrapped—simply because we, the plain men of the world, won't look upon ourselves as world citizens.

It's no good expecting our politicians to take the next big step that must be taken unless we are ready for it. And the surest way of showing them that we are ready for it is to refuse to fight the wars that are brought about by the present out-of-date scheme of things.

Fantastic, idealistic, you think? You're entitled to think so. But don't forget that this week the nations of Europe have been in danger of flying at each other's throats just because their rulers won't get round a table to put that idealistic solution into practice. Don't forget that if they do fly at each other's throats the horror of the war that will follow will be many times worse than anything that has been done in Nazi Germany in the last seven years.

And ask yourself if, after another blood-bath, the atmosphere is likely to be a suitable one in which to tackle a world problem that needs to be settled by calm discussion and common sense.

In other words, use your imagination—and then see if you could possibly support another war.

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